

**SOCIO-CULTURAL CONFLICT AS THE
MAIN CAUSE OF TRAGEDY IN SELECTED
ISIXHOSA DRAMA WORKS**

By

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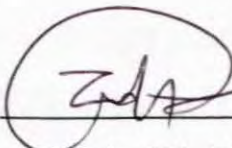
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Declaration

I declare that "Socio-cultural conflict as the main cause of tragedy in selected isiXhosa drama works" is my own work and that all the sources I have used have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

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Dedication

This work is dedicated to my late Mother, Nozinzile Gidi and my father Nokhawana Gidi, for their moral support during difficult times throughout my life.

SUMMARY

This study is focused on socio-cultural problems which in certain cases lead to various tragedies in AmaXhosa society. Chapter One is a general introduction that gives the objective of this study; the motivation that leads to the selection of this subject; a literature review on socio-cultural conflict; the scope of study, basic theories and composition of the ensuing chapters and the definition of key concepts that are of paramount importance for this study.

Various theories are used for this study. Chapter Two discusses Psychoanalysis, Womanism and other supplementary literary theories which include onomastic as a literary device. Psychoanalysis proved to be an unavoidable literary theory as this study analyses the personal feeling of the individual within his/her cultural obligation. Literary onomastics exposes the relationship between the name giver to a person and the power the name gives to its bearer. Womanism is the theory which exposes the social effects, caused by the socio-cultural conflict on females and children as well as on males in certain cases.

Chapter Three gives the historical background of AmaXhosa, and the naming of the characters and how these names influence their status in traditional society. In Chapter Four the violation of women and children's rights is under scrutiny. Chapter Five deals with certain relevant themes. Chapter Six is the final chapter and contains the conclusion of this study.

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CHAPTER 1

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This study focuses on the influences of the realities of life in the selected IsiXhosa texts of the realities of life. The tragic element in the texts reflects and is directly linked to the pain and suffering of the African people which result from their particular socio-cultural conflict. This culturally induced hardship is not only caused by legislation but also by socio-cultural practices. For that reason this study also highlights the pain caused by socio-cultural conflict, beliefs and value systems which result in much tragedy.

Even if one does not directly involve oneself in passing on a culture to the next generation, one remains, however indirectly, a vehicle for the transmission of one's culture, having been shaped and moulded by that very culture. Culture has an extensive influence on our lives. It is a comprehensive whole which includes knowledge, beliefs, art, morals, laws, customs and other factors acquired by an individual as a member of a particular society. It depicts the way of life of a particular community which affects behaviour, morals roles, relationships, mate selection and marriage forms.

The statement above shows that culture is one of the factors which affect us in our daily lives. *It makes us adhere to the norms and values of a particular community.* It shows that no individual can escape cultural influences as culture is not one of those things that one can opt to keep or discard. It is as impossible for a man to survive without a culture, as it is for a tortoise to survive without a shell.

This dissertation is an attempt to offer a critical analysis to readers of IsiXhosa literature of the prominent role played by socio-cultural influence in one's daily life. The most important aspect of this study is to make a critical assessment of how often socio-cultural conflict leads to tragedies in most cases in our life.

1.2 AIM OF STUDY

The primary objective of this study is to examine extensively and analyse how socio-cultural conflict leads to tragedy in selected Xhosa texts. This study is an attempt to expose and analyse the social inequalities which were perpetuated by the cultural traditional practice of the rigid division of groups according to age, gender and that of arranged marriages. These are the most prominent themes to appear as socio-cultural traditional practices which lead to a series of tragedies for AmaXhosa. An attempt is made to investigate the relevance of these cultural/traditional practices to the current situation.

This dissertation focuses on the study of socio-cultural conflict, with the primary objective of unveiling how dangerous socio-cultural practices can easily lead to unnecessary tragedies.

The second objective of this study is to establish the extent to which socio-cultural conflict contributed to several tragedies found in these selected IsiXhosa texts.

It is quite evident that certain aspects that are dealt with in this study are not the only important aspects of literature but they are also cautioning the readers about the problems caused by culture. This study does not discuss tragedy as a single entity but as a part of a global village. For practical reasons other literary aspects such as dramatic plot, structure, etc are not dealt with directly but indirect reference to them is made. This study also shows that tragedy is not the only sad part of a traumatic traditional problem that societies have to face. There is also the suppression of women by men and the farce of arranged marriages. This study also attempts to expose these painful problems of socio-culture through the use of certain theories such as Psychoanalysis and Womanism with other supplementary theories as vehicles of unveiling the personality of the individual within his/her culture.

This study also examines how females are perceived in African cultural societies. Through the use of a psycho-analytical approach, this has provided further insight

into the harmful effects of the traditional custom of forced, arranged marriages that deny the basic rights of the men and women involved. This dissertation is limited to only a few selected IsiXhosa texts. The primary aim of this study is to trace the contribution made by socio-cultural values to tragedies that occur in our daily lives.

1.3 MOTIVATION

My experience as a critical student of literature and an experienced IsiXhosa teacher is one of the strongest reasons which triggered an interest in researching the socio-cultural conflict which culminates in a series of tragedies in the selected IsiXhosa texts. These tragedies result from the AmaXhosa traditional practice of the arrangement of marriages by parents. It has also come to my attention that the number of students of literature who need this literature do not pay sufficient attention to this aspect of socio-cultural conflict.

Most scholars focus mostly on other aspects of literature, neglecting the socio-cultural aspect. My observation shows that socio-cultural shortcomings need to be reviewed timeously. Failure to give our full attention to these socio-cultural gaps could lead to tragedies which are currently experienced by the African youth in particular.

Although this situation is getting much attention from governmental law and other disciplines of study, a drastic enough stance has not been taken. The topic of socio-cultural conflict which has led to various tragedies has never been researched in IsiXhosa literature. There is a special need for literary critics to expose this type of tragedy insofar as it applies to IsiXhosa literature.

This study will open the eyes of many readers about socio-problems which are related to culture. This research also deals with the attitude of men towards women in AmaXhosa society. This is an attempt to expose all the social malpractice by men in amaXhosa social life.

1.4 BASIC THEORIES

The significance of theories in the analysis of literature:

The main literary theories that are used in this study are psychoanalysis and womanism. Other theories, such as onomastic and names as cultural practice, are also used to give substantial support to the above-mentioned theories. The primary objective of using psychoanalysis and other theories is to present various theoretical frameworks that constitute the basis of the analysis in the subsequent chapters. Two literary theories with supplementary support of other theories are used collectively as the main instrument for the critical analysis of the selected IsiXhosa texts. These theories are onomastic and names as cultural practice.

The reason for choosing the psychoanalysis theory is that it is relevant in this research because of the nature of the topic. Psychoanalysis is the only literary theory which can trace the behaviour of an individual in a social environment and reveal facts about such behaviour. The theory of psychoanalysis gives a clear picture about the behaviour of individuals in a particular society. What really triggered interest in this literary theory, was the fact that it operates well in this research topic. Womanism cannot be divorced from this research topic because it works hand-in-glove with psychoanalysis in this regard. The importance of these theories is in the analysis of the material which is at the disposal of a reader. This will enable the reader to understand the actual meaning of the content.

1.5 **SCOPE OF STUDY**

This dissertation consists of six chapters. In the first chapter the focus of attention is on the objective, motivation, scope of study, research methods and the definition of key concepts. A literary review, based on academic research into socio-cultural conflict which results in tragedy in most AmaXhosa culture and texts, is provided as a background to what has not been researched thus far. As such this dissertation hopes to make an extensive contribution in this field.

In the second chapter, consideration is given to the theoretical perspectives that inform this critical investigation. Emphasis will be placed on psychoanalysis and womanism as the basic theories. There is also an explanation of most theories which are defined and elaborated on. The theory of psychoanalysis is used mainly for tracing the personality of the individual in the selected IsiXhosa text, and assessing the consequences of the socio cultural effect on both genders. The theory of womanism is used to expose the gender imbalances in this study.

Chapter three focuses on the historic background of AmaXhosa. The importance of this chapter is to reveal all the historical cultural practices of AmaXhosa. This information can also help in the present analysis of the current situation in the social life of AmaXhosa. Chapters four and five form the core of this dissertation. In chapter four conflict in character and cultural stereotypes will be discussed. Chapter five will discuss the various themes. These chapters are concerned with a detailed examination of the selected IsiXhosa texts in terms of socio-cultural conflict and show how these problems lead to several tragedies in African literature. Secondly, they focus on how individuals are affected by socio-cultural context. Lastly, they expose the psychological effect on individual behaviour because of social inequalities. The fourth chapter extensively examine the consequences of these arranged marriages as one of the social inequalities within AmaXhosa community. This chapter also looks at how women and children are perceived against a traditional cultural background. Chapter five indicates the effect of these consequences and mentions themes such as submissiveness, protest and freedom.

Chapter six is a general conclusion in which the main observations are summarised and some suggestions for future research are provided.

This study will cover the area of socio-cultural problems caused by culture through the use of literary texts.

1.6 METHOD OF RESEARCH

1.6.1 Existing format of research method

According to Moleko (1992: 5 – 8) there are a number of ways of doing research. They range from direct methods such as questionnaires and interview techniques whereby subjects are asked to respond to questions or to give their opinions about issues targeted for research, to fairly indirect methods such as observation. These are used to prevent the subject from knowing that research is taking place. Observation is also one of the indirect methods of finding information.

1.6.1.1 Questionnaire technique

Questionnaires as a research tool are not set out to change people's attitudes or provide them with information but the main purpose is to discover things. This technique is used to gather information by asking people directly about the points concerned with research. Questionnaires work on the premise that if one wants to find out something about people and their attitudes, one simply goes and asks them what one wants to know, and gets the information directly from them. Questionnaires that are administered face-to-face with the respondent are valuable for social research.

The questionnaire technique has two types: open and closed questions. Open questions are those which give the respondents maximum freedom to present their views. They allow them to digress from the matter at hand. They are those that leave the respondent to decide the wording of the answer, the length of the answer and the kind of matters to be raised in the answer. The advantage of open questions is that the information gathered by way of the responses is more likely to reflect the full richness and complexity of the views held by the respondent.

In a closed questionnaire, the respondent is given a particular format to use in answering questions. Closed questions are easier to score because they force the respondent to answer in the terms set by the fieldworker. The main

importance of closed questions is that the structure imposed on the respondent's answers provides the researcher with information which is of uniform length and in a form that lends itself nicely to being quantified and compared.

The advantages of using questionnaires as a research technique is that it provides standardised answers, is easier to arrange and is also much more economical.

1.6.1.2 Observation

This is the method most favoured by anthropologists. It is used to collect the most natural data since the researcher records the activities of people as he watches them and without them realising that they are being observed. Therefore the risk whereby people might give wrong information for various reasons known to them, as is sometimes the case with interviews and questionnaires, is avoided. However, because the researcher does not ask people concerned, he relies to a great degree on his own inferences to draw conclusions.

1.6.1.3 Interviews

These involve tight control over the format of the questions and answers. In essence, the structured interview is like a questionnaire which is administered face to face with a respondent. The researcher has a predetermined list of questions, to which the respondent is invited to offer limited option responses. The tight control over the wording of the questions, the order in which the questions occur and the range of answers that are on offer have always produced standardised results.

Interviews always provide data which deal with topics in depth and in detail. The researcher is likely to gain valuable insights based on the depth of information gathered. It also requires only simple equipment and builds on conversation skills which researchers need.

This method is somehow subjective and it is probable that the researcher may play down some important facts due to insufficient knowledge of the norms of the society in which he is doing research.

1.6.1.4.1 Literary

This study is based the literary research method. This method is chosen because of the nature of the topic. In this study the researcher seeks more information by reading as many books as possible. All these books are relevant to the topic which is discussed.

In an effort to criticise the cultural stereotypes, this study also goes through some works that are relevant to socio-cultural conflict and tries to interpret the facts with the assistance of psychoanalytical theory. This research pays special attention to the works of W. K. Tamsanqa, A. M. Mmango and A. Mntingane.

This research also relies heavily on primary and secondary sources of information. It includes interviews with people who have some information about the cultural background of these writers of selected IsiXhosa texts. It also uses other techniques of getting information like questionnaires and observation. The technique of questioning is used mostly to gather information about the writers and their backgrounds. The basis of an awareness of tradition may be indispensable to establish the original meaning of a text, especially when works are closely linked by the influence of culture. The individual's writings always project the traditional cultural influences of his environment. The author's mind is surely the principal agency of the influence of culture. This can be deduced from the many works of W.K. Tamsanqa.

The causal link between works of the chosen writers may be the influence of a common environment, ideology or religion. This research also gathered information from the biographers of the selected IsiXhosa writers. The biographies of these writers also provide information on this research in that they give extensive information about the writers' life and the possibilities of what really triggered them to write about this theme. This research also considered the cultural influences on these writers, particularly writers like W. K. Tamsanqa, who grew up in a rural area

where cultural customs were the order of the day. The cultural circumstances around him might be one of the leading factors which made him write about the theme of traditional marriages practised in the Transkei. The cultural background of these writers/ could be one of the leading factors that induced them to write about their cultural experiences. It is natural that each writer always writes about issues that cause controversy in a particular society, such as the theme of forced marriage in African societies.

The author's writings are also analysed within the framework of modern literary theory. These theories are used for critical evaluation of the information found through questionnaires, observations, in academic institutions and public libraries. Although this study focuses on socio-cultural conflict that led to a series of tragedies in IsiXhosa literature, indirect references to other aspects of research are made when and where necessary, within IsiXhosa literature.

1.7 LITERATURE REVIEW

There is a considerable number of critical works on other literary aspects of literature but there is no scholar who has researched on the topic of cultural conflict in AmaXhosa community. There are also a number of literary works which are written within the framework of psychoanalysis.

This study demonstrates the nature of the perspectives that guide most of the research in IsiXhosa writings. It is also very important to briefly review other research. The main purpose is to enrich this study, with different ideas from other scholars of African literature. This research continuously reviewed information gathered from various sources. At this stage it includes the continuous evaluation of the information received, about a particular selected text, by scrutinising relevant information about socio-cultural conflict and drawing a conclusion about what really creates tragedy in African societies with a view to the current socio-cultural generation gap.

This portion of literature review pays more attention to academic research studies carried out on issues similar to that of socio-cultural conflict. In most of these research works the study only focuses on the applications of psychoanalysis theory to their research works. This is unfortunate because it is the first study to research on this topic. To give more information as a substance to this research, other studies or research information are also considered in this research topic.

B.B. Mkonto (1984) in his MA dissertation, "A study of conflict and theme in some modern Xhosa plays", addresses the cultural problems which are caused by traditional aspects such as arranged marriages. In his studies he also indicates the danger of being flat-footed in our culture.

T.N. Kabanyane (1994), in his MA dissertation, "The art of K. S. Bongela in novel writing" discusses the Western cultural influence on the form of AmaXhosa arranged marriages.

M. Skenjana (1997), in his MA dissertation, "Culture forces in conflict: A comparative study of A.C. Jordan's 'Ingqumho yeminyanya' and Chinua Achebe's 'Things falls apart' " addresses the cultural conflict caused by the generation gap that exists in AmaXhosa community where some people still strongly believe in maintaining their cultural roots and others believe in acculturation.

At this stage there are very limited, or no researchers that have investigated the topic of socio-cultural conflict. The only researchers that exist are not inclusive in their studies because they only look at gender as a single aspect which creates conflict and how societies view gender.

Kwatsha (1996), in her M. A. Dissertation entitled "A Psychoanalytical evaluation in Ingqumho Yeminyanya" written by A. C. Jordan , views this issue of cultural conflict indirectly by using psychoanalysis as a tool to analyse the behaviour of certain characters related to their cultural environmental factors. She also investigates the causes of the generation gaps which exist between the adults and the youth in a particular society.

In this way she provides the cultural set-up and how it influences the character's behaviour because of the environmental factors he/she grew up with and also how it moulds and influences a character.

Moleko (1992), in his/her BA Honours dissertation entitled "The Theory of Psychoanalytical Study" using the character called Chaka in the novel of the same name examines what really was in Chaka's mind when he was engaging himself in wars of destruction.

Mollema (1992) uses the theory of psychoanalysis as a literacy theory in the novel "Buzani Kumkahayi", written by C. T. Msimang. The theory of psychoanalysis is used in this novel to trace the behaviour of a character called Mkabayi as portrayed by the writer.

Elements of feminism occur in M. A. Kekana's *Nonyana ya Tokologo* a BA Honours article written by M.I. Maponyane (1990). Maponyane exposes the cultural constraints imposed on women in Northern Sotho society. She addresses the cultural norms and values which distance families from being actively involved in the social structures of their society.

The above academic research works shows very little with regard to this research topic. The common factors are addressing the social inequalities concerning the positions occupied by the different groups, for instance, family structures, peer groups and social structures in a society. Most of these academic researchers focus on gender inequality as the only cultural aspect which is discriminated against in African societies. This research touches on some of the cultural aspects which are neglected in other academic research works. It employs psychoanalysis as a literary theory or as the major tool of analysis that is recurrent in this study. It also illustrates the ageing structure of manhood based on circumcision and further divides men, and by the perspective gender roles that are inherent in those societies. It goes on to discuss the psychological behaviour of both genders which have been affected by the inherent cultural values. The socio-cultural conflict is always characterised by the themes of oppression, arranged marriages and submissiveness. This study also considers the fact that socio-cultural conflicts are

not only confined to IsiXhosa culture but are also found in literary work in other languages.

The above literature review is to a large extent, a demonstration of the lack of significant and meaningful studies in South Africa on examining the link between socio-cultural conflict which results in a series of tragedies in African societies in particular.

1.8 SUMMARY

One should not put too much blame on parents who arrange marriage for their children. They follow a common wish that all parents have, which is to see their children married to ideal spouses. Parents who initiate the arranged marriage have the future well-being of their children at heart. The culture of forced marriage became a traditional practice which was impossible to question in the olden days. The cultural set up which prevailed in those years was that men believed in filling their kraals with *ikhazi*. Some of the children did not accept these arranged marriage and they rebelled, and this resulted in tragedies. Sometimes children accepted the legitimacy of arranged marriages because they respected their parents' decisions. Some children trust their parents as guardians who look after their interest.

The number of sad stories referred to in these chapters highlight the pain felt by children who are affected by arranged marriages. The importance of true love as a solid base for a happy and successful marriage in contrast to the extremely unwanted results of arranged marriage is highlighted in certain chapters. There is enough evidence to show that sometimes children agree to (unwanted) arranged marriages because of family pressure. This also results when people try to come up with new ideas to a tradition that has been practised for centuries. Such an effort amounts to a revolution. The youth that were forced into arranged marriages rebel against this longstanding tradition. Their rebellion represents the difference in opinion between them and the traditional parents. A number of cases have indicated that Western or religious influence played a major role in changing these traditional practices.

The traditional African child has been affected by the consequences of these cultural traditional practices. The rejection of the chosen partner affected the father's dignity because his word was no longer regarded as law in the home. Traditional African culture did not allow children or youth to take part in the decision making of the family. The above statement reveals that traditional African parents are abusing their culture to achieve their ulterior motives. The views of the child they are forcing into an arranged marriage are regarded as insignificant.

This is still true even in present days because parents do not want to accept the youth's views in their family matters. There are a number of children who have left their homes because their parents interfered in their relationships. The youth are robbed of their human rights to make their own decisions, especially in important matters such as marriage. The inequality that prevails in a family unit between a married woman and the family male is also partly the result of cultural traditional practices.

1.9 **DEFINITION OF MAJOR CONCEPTS**

The terms to be defined are most important to an understanding of the subject and of the study. It is of paramount importance to define and explain these major terms before we discuss the subject, as they will be used or referred to very often in this study.

1.9.1 **Theme**

The term 'theme' is the gist of study. Although its meaning is known to most literary researchers, because it has been repeatedly defined in many academic research works that treated theme as the main idea, as a crucial term, in this study too, we also need to define it.

Cohen (1973: 198) defines theme as "The essential meaning or main concept in a literary work of art".

This dissertation looks at the theme of socio-cultural conflict in the selected IsiXhosa texts.

Brooks and Warren (1959: 273) define theme as follows:

Theme is what a piece of fiction stacks up to. It is the idea, the significance, the interpretation of a person and events, the pervasive and unifying view of life which is embodied in the total narrative ... Some comment of values in human nature and human conduct, on good and bad, on the true and false, some conceptions of what the human place is in the world.

Brooks and Warren's definition takes into account the close relationship between the subject of the discourse and the personal behaviour of the characters and the events that occur in the text.

In this dissertation, elaboration on the theme is most important in explaining the nature of the topic. Theme is viewed as an abstract doctrine that a writer persuades a reader to assimilate his/her work of art. Theme may be implicit or explicit in nature. An understanding of theme, then, requires a thorough knowledge of the work's subject matter. For readers to be able to conceive theme in a particular text, the people involved and all the events should be taken into consideration.

1.9.2 **Drama**

Many literary critics believe that drama has its roots in oral traditions, such as story telling and praise poetry, as well as in traditional ceremonies and festivities of the different nations.

Reaske (1966: 5) defines drama as follows:

A drama is a work of literature as a composition which delineates life and human activity by means of presenting various actions of and dialogues between, a group of characters.

Drama can, therefore, be seen as a form of literary art and also of representational art. As literary art, drama is a piece of fiction conjured up in words. However, it is a special kind of fiction. Boulton (1990:30) also emphasizes this by saying:

A true play is three-dimensional, it is literature that walks and talks before our eyes. It is not intended that the eye shall perceive marks on paper and the imagination turn them into sights, sounds and actions; the text of the play is meant to be translated into sight, sounds and action, which occur literally and physically on a stage.

Drama is a special type of fiction acted out rather than narrated. In drama characters (actors) appear and events take place without any comments, unlike in prose, for instance, where we learn about characters and their actions through the 'word' of a narrator. In this sense, drama is a form of representational art.

The most popular themes in African dramas are the following:

- 1 Social restructuring in modern society.
- 2 Striving for retaining moral values
- 3 Dealing with social problems in a society

1.9.3 Society

A society is a structured group of individuals within a geographical or political boundary who share a cultural value. This social structure refers to how society is organised into groups including family and peers.

According to Steven (1989: 7):

Society is a complex network of patterns of relationships in which all the members participate in varying degrees. These relationships change, and behaviour changes at the same time. Individuals are faced with new situations to which they must respond. These situations reflect such factors as the

introduction of new techniques, new ways of making a living, changes in place of residence and new innovations, ideas and social values.

The above definition indicates that society is an organised aggregate of individuals who follow a given way of life. The traditional society is predominant with traditional mentality and attitudes of people which hamper development. Resistance to change is usually most pronounced when traditional values and beliefs are involved. Social change is associated with a number of psychological costs such as anxiety, insecurity, stress and a reduction in spontaneity.

1.9.4 Culture

In our societies, people carry within themselves different behaviour and certain patterns of feelings which we have learned throughout our life time. As soon as an individual inculcates these peculiarities of thinking, behaviour and feeling, they embody themselves within an individual's mind and culture is established. This might be the reason why a number of researchers view culture as a 'learned habit'.

Hofstede (1991: 5) defines culture as follows:

Culture (two) is always a collective phenomenon, because it is at least partly shared with people who live within the same social environment, which is where it is learned. It is collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from another.

The above explanation indicates that culture is one of the things that are learned – one is not born with it. It comes from the social set-up, not from one's genes. This definition also emphasises that culture influences community behaviour because of the background of one's psychological influence which lies within the cultural set-up in which an individual grew up and collected his or her life experiences. This cultural learning therefore starts within the family, it continues with the neighbours, at school in social gatherings, at the working place, and even in the living community.

The most interesting part of the explanation of this concept, is how Hofstede views acculturation. He separates culture into two different entities. In his idea he has culture (one) which refers to Western languages culture which is associated with civilisation. This dissertation concentrates on culture (two) because it is not well developed. Arrangement of marriages and denying the rights of women are cultural practices which are not inherited but practiced by men through cultural observation.

According to Lyle Bourne (1998: 104) culture is “an all-encompassing network of experiences that includes concepts, habits, skills, instruments, arts, sports, morals, law, customs, institutions and any other learned capabilities acquired by human beings as members of a society”.

From the statement above one can learn that culture is the whole way of life of a collection of people. Culture also includes habits of how people view the world, what they think is important and how they solve their problems. If one reads between the lines, it is seen that culture is not fixed or rigid - it can be constantly changing.

One can conclude by saying the term culture refers essentially to knowledge and practices that are shared by members of a society. It also gives a sense of belonging, how they should behave, and what they should be doing.

1.9.5 Social Psychology

Douglas et al (1999: 35) define this concepts as follows:

Social psychology is the scientific study of how people's thoughts, feelings and behaviours are influenced by other people. Social psychologists strive to describe social behaviour carefully and explain its causes.

According to the above definition, social psychology is a theory that focuses mainly on understanding the causes of social behaviour and social thought by identifying factors that shape our feelings and thought in social situations.

From the above statement it seems that culture has its own social structure or web of organised relationships amongst the groups, that defines their mutual rights and obligations in their society. It is clear that most of the social structures of our societies contain prominent institutions which are cores or clusters of norms organised and established for the pursuit of some need by social groups.

According to Steven (1989: 20) social norms are:

Rules or patterns of behaviour defining what is expected, customary, right or proper in a given situation. They are behavioural expectations transmitted from generation to generation that members of a particular group collectively share. They are enforced by sanctions for correct behaviour and punishments for incorrect behaviour.

From the above definition norm is one of the social aspects which helps society control the behaviour of individuals. It proves that the individual's behaviour is rewarded for conformity and punished for deviance. The above definition also provides the information that guilt and shame, which occur when one violates social norms, are amongst the most effective means that a culture has to control behaviour so that people can live harmoniously. According to Steven's definition social norms are learned rules and expectations by which a society guides its members' behaviour. These social norms sometimes become codified into a traditional law, specifying how people who hold different positions in the social order should interact. For example in African societies, children have lower-status, and are expected to listen to and not interrupt the higher status of parents.

Values are the abstract essential knowledge which is shared by members of a society. It is the way of life or the manner in which a particular society handles its culture. It has effects on the behaviour of a particular society with regard to certain cultural issues such as mate selection and marriage forms.

Lyle et al (1998: 111) define value as follows:

All cultural values which have central convictions by which members of a culture define what is desirable or undesirable, good or bad, beautiful or ugly, right or wrong. Values are abstract evaluations expressing broad preferences, while norms apply to specific situations.

From the above statement it is clear that values are a most important aspect of culture because they determine the behaviour of a society and of the individuals within a particular society. Value controls other cultural aspects by attaching its meaning to every aspect. The above definition also gives an indication that values are different from one society to another.

1.9.6 **Gender and Sex**

Gender is often used as a synonym for sex because it is related to biological maleness or femaleness. There is a distinction between the two concepts because sex is physiological, while gender is cultural. In contemporary use the term 'gender' refers to the socially imposed dichotomy of masculine and feminine roles and character traits. Scott (quoted in Zinsser, 1993: 54) in her 1986 essay "Gender" gives a systematic explanation of this new synthesis. She describes gender as: a constitutive element of social relationships based on perceived differences between the sexes, the knowledge that establishes meaning for bodily difference, primary way of signifying relationships of power.

Gender obviously has a lot to do with the relationships of power between the male and female sexes. McKinnon in Kramarae Treichler (1985: 174) gives a picture of sexuality to gender. He explains gender as 'a division of sexes caused by the socio-cultural set-up, which emphasizes male sexual dominance and female sexual submission'.

The above explanation of gender indicates that gender is the cultural package whereby a society assigns material and non-material aspects of culture based on sex. It also provides that gender is a universal social category which is applied in

different cultures to make distinctions between males and females. What goes in the cultural package varies across cultures.

1.9.7 Masculinity

Sattel in Kramarae & Treichler (1985: 258) says that masculinity has nothing to do with femininity. He says masculinity:

Is not the opposite of femininity. The starting point of understanding masculinity lies in the asymmetrical dominance and prestige which accrue to males in this society. Male dominance take shape in the positions of formal and informal power men hold in the social division of labour; greater male prestige includes, and is evidenced by the greater reward which attaches to male than to female activities, as well as codification or differential prestige in our language and customs. What our culture embodies, in other words, is not simply two stereotypes - one masculine, one feminine - but a set of power and prestige arrangements attached to gender.

Masculinity then refers to the authority given to men by society and culture.

1.9.8 Patriarchy

Patriarchy comprises masculinity. It says that men hold absolute power in all the important structures of society, and that women are discriminated against. Womanists use patriarchy to refer to a social structure shown by male's authority over women. Patriarchy is seen as any type of group organisation in which males hold absolute power and determine what part females shall and shall not play, and in which duties assigned to women are relegated generally to the mystical and aesthetic and excluded from the practical and political realms (Rich in Kramarae & Treichler, 1985: 323). Patriarchy not only refers to the prevention of women from occupying powerful positions in society, it also causes the negative connotations men attach to women.

In Morton's view patriarchy is:

A way of structuring reality in terms of good/evil, redemption/guilt, authority/obedience, reward/punishment, power/powerless, have/have-nots, master/slave. The first in each opposite was assigned to the patriarchal father, or the Patriarch's Father God, frequently indistinguishable from one another. The second, to women as 'the other' and in time to all 'others' who could be exploited. The father did the naming, the owning, controlling, the ordering, the forgiving, the giving, considering himself capable of making best decisions for all. (Kramarae & Treichler, 1985: 323).

In the socio-culture of AmaXhosa family structure, power is given to the father who is unquestionably the head of the family. This can be one of the reasons that led men to select husbands for their daughters and wives for their sons, because in the family structure children rank lowest and they are traditionally expected to uphold the authority of their parents.

1.9.9 Stereotypes

Stereotypes form the mental sexual divisions to which an individual has conformed. Stereotyping thus refers to a process wherein persons interact into thinking that they have to act and think in an acceptable manner to their socio-cultural set-up.

Sekhukhune in Mtuze (1994: 3) explains stereotyping as follows:

Most of these stereotypes which are, for the moment, exemplified by idiomatic and proverbial expressions relegated the social status of a woman to that of a nonentity. The sex role stereotypes of men have acquired aggressive qualities and command absolute power and authority while those of women demonstrate lack of assertiveness and certainty.

1.9.10 Symbolism

According to Lyle et al (1998: 107) symbolism is:

Something that stands for something else but may have no intrinsic meaning in itself. A symbol can be an image, sound or action that represents a particular culture.

Symbols are usually linguistic, but can be non-verbal such as a cow, or a dog.

From the above definition, a symbol is defined as any gesture, object thing or behaviour which is used by members of a particular society to represent something else. The above definition indicates that symbolism can stand for concrete objects or can stand for certain ideas.

Symbolism is one of the aspects which are used for literary criticism. It is when certain ideas are represented by certain objects. This aspect is very popular in African analysis of literature.

1.9.11 Social Beliefs

Social belief is what a society believes is good for their lives. These beliefs are normally based on their traditional opinions about certain customs.

Lyle et al (1998: 109) define social beliefs as:

Views of reality that people consider to be true. They can be based on faith, other people's opinions, tradition, logic or observation. Beliefs are the basis of expectations, which in turn affect our perceptions.

From the above definition, belief is considered to be what is regarded as an important value by a particular society. This includes the faith of the community. Anything that is commonly perceived by a society is a belief of the society, like (*ubugqwirha*) witchcraft in African society. This becomes the main belief of African people.

1.9.12 Force

The concept 'force' implies coercion, compulsion.

According to Hornby et al (1974: 336)

Force means to compel, obliged to use force to make somebody do something.

The concept here is used with the connotation of pressurising somebody to do something against his/her will.

1.9.13 Tragedy

Tragedy is the disaster which comes to those who represent and symbolise, in a peculiarly intense form, those flaws and shortcomings which are universal in a lesser form. It is a disaster that happens to people, and the greater the person, so it seems, the more acute is their tragedy.

In any case, the hero suffers whether for a moral weakness, an error, or a virtue. After suffering he usually comes to some sort of awareness, either of his vice, if he had one or of his own virtue, which he now sees cannot exist in a world of ordinary men. This recognition (a mental or moral enlargement) is sometimes said to minimise the hero's pain and the audience's pity and fear.

Pretorius and Swart, (1987: 24) see tragedy in:

... a tragic hero who in some way or another, rises above the ordinary person, but who has one tragic flaw which after a heroic battle, either external or internal, leads to his/her downfall. The feeling of tragedy is evoked in us, especially through the contrast between the initial greatness of the hero and his subsequent, great downfall.

The character of the tragic hero is of great importance. In the classical tradition the hero's character has some flaw or "Achilles' heel" which contributes to his ultimate downfall, but the dramatist, far from condemning the hero, gains the empathy of the audience.

1.9.14 **Religion**

Peter and McNerney (1992: 130 - 132) define religion as:

A belief in, recognition of or an awakened sense of a higher unseen controlling power or powers with the emotion and morality connected therewith to rites or worship.

According to the above definition Peter and McNerney believed that religion is a belief of an unseen God, which controls the lives of everything on the earth. They also believed that God controls our feelings and morality and that men can relate to God by means of worshipping Him.

1.9.15 **True – Self**

Peter and McNerney also came with another dimension of life, that every man is unique in dealing with life situations. They believed that people have different ways of approaching life, they differ in thinking, in expressing their feelings and in their self-interest.

According to Peter and McNerney (1992: 138- 139) self is:

Inner nature that differs from your everyday understanding of yourself. A true self is what you most truly are. Many moral and religious theories are based on the idea that people have a fundamental nature, such as to be rational, to be loving or to be free, which needs to be developed to develop your inner nature, or true self.

Your ultimate self-interest is to live in agreement with "deep self". According to different versions of the true - self theory your ultimate

self interest may be fully rational, to love others fully or to choose freely your values and perspectives. However your ultimate self-interest is not the same as the maximum satisfaction of your normal informed wants. This is why being moral can sometimes conflict with what you normally consider to be your self interest.

The above definition indicates that everyone has his or her own self interest which differs from one person to another. This definition also indicates that people do evaluate their social norms and values in a different ways.

1.10 THE NATURE OF DRAMA

Many literary critics believe that drama has its background in oral traditional literature, such as story-telling and praise poetry, as well as in cultural traditional ceremonies and festivities of the different nations.

According to Reaske (1966: 5) drama is defined as follows:

A drama is a work of literature or a composition which delineates life an human activity by means of representing various actions of, and dialogues between, a group of characters

Drama can, therefore, be seen as a form of literary art and also of representational art. A literary art, drama is a piece of fiction conjured up in dialogues. However, it is a special type of fiction. This idea is stressed by Boulton (1990: 30):

A true play is three dimensional, it is literature that walks and talks before our eyes. It is not intended that eye shall perceive marks on paper and the imagination turns them into sights, sounds and actions; the text of play is meant to be translated in to sight, sounds and action, which occur literally and physical on a stage.

Drama is special kind of fiction acted out rather than narrated. In a drama, characters appear and actions take place without comments, unlike prose, for instance, where we learn about characters and events through the “words” of the narrator. In this sense drama is a form of representational art.

Although dramas are designed to be presented orally on the stage, there is the inescapable fact that at some point the playwright must write down all of the words. As written literature, plays can be read. This is a secondary nature of drama, because most dramas are written only to be read rather than for theatrical performance. This kind of play is known as ‘closet drama’. For most of us the experience of drama is confined to plays on paper rather than in performance. When reading a play one has to imagine it on the stage. In this case one must only attend to the meanings and implications of words.

Moeketsi (1990: 25) stresses the importance of words in drama, when she says:

The word substitutes for the sense of sight. It communicates facts and ideas. It is the ‘story - teller’ image-maker, character delineator. If the word fails, so does the play...

The reader has to envision the words in performance in order to experience the understanding and pleasure that the spectators gain when they attend the play. This means that in reading a play we should continually seek to create its ‘action’ or performance on the imaginary stage of our minds.

A reader should always remember that it is not enough to read the text simply as a sequence of statements made by the characters talking to one another or to themselves. We must always read drama as a script for performance, then we can see that the text contains a number of clues from which we can ‘construct’ the ‘performance’ in our minds. These clues will show us the various elements that make up the total ‘play’, like for example, setting, gestures, intonation, etc. By keeping these elements in mind we can imagine what the drama looks like and sounds like on the stage. Of course, some dramatists provide extensive directions for performance in parenthetical remarks preceding the dialogue or interspersed

with it. These informative devices in drama help the reader to understand and interpret correctly the actions of a drama.

In trying to define drama, we have, in fact, said very little that is peculiar to drama. Some of the points mentioned apply almost as well to all kinds of literary work. For example, drama is similar to prose in that they both present a story. Pretorius and Swart (1982: 17) also point out that the story in literature belongs to an imaginary world which is, however, similar to reality. Like prose, drama is concerned with plot and characters and the only difference is the manner of presentation of the story.

1.11 CONCLUSION

This introductory chapter has paid careful attention to the aims, scope and framework of the study and the definition of terms. It also indicates that psychoanalysis theory is employed as the primary instrument in the analysis in this study. Other subsidiary theories such as social psychology are also employed. Literature review provided us with background information that sheds some light on the subject under discussion. It briefly surveyed the problems the societies are faced with in other cultures. In short it shows that many tragedies in African societies are caused by cultural rigidities which need improvement. This study concentrated on cultural marriage arrangement by parents.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The main aim of this chapter is to present various theoretical frameworks that form the basis of the analysis in this study. The theory of psychoanalysis is used with the supplement of womanism and name-giving as a foundation for the critical analysis of the selected IsiXhosa drama books. This study examines the relationship that exists between psychoanalysis and literature with the aim of applying it in selected IsiXhosa drama books.

Literary theories are very important for the diagnosis of literature. These theories are used as labour material by students of literature. Eagleton (1983:viii) foregrounds the complaint by some literary critics that literary theory is impossibly esoteric and that its arcaneness is related to the study of nuclear physics. The protest is that some theorists confuse the student by getting in between the reader and the work. In his appraisal of literary theories, Eagleton further argues that literary education does not exactly encourage analytical thinking. He allays the fears of certain literary critics concerning the obscurity of literary theories by stating that without some kind of theory, however unreflective and implicit, we would not know what a "literary work" was in the first place, or how we were to read it.

According to Nkumane (1999:23) some African literary scholars also feel that we cannot remain in the grip of old practices in literary analysis. We need to move on. Chaphole's (1993:21) plea for the consideration of literary theories in the analysis of African literature seems to be in line with what Eagleton has suggested. It advocates a change of approach in the teaching and reading of literature. In his own words, Chapole argues that literary study is a specialised discipline and needs a rigorous theoretical thrust. He continues to say that in order to set forth our principles and procedures in terms which permit question and discussion, we need two things, i.e. a theory or theories of literature and an approach to the text derived from the theory or theories.

The above views not only highlight a dramatic change in the way we analyse literature, but also give the importance of literary theories in the teaching and analysis of literature. Literary theories are not only a tool to analyse literature, but they also develop literary knowledge and lead to critical thinking by students. Using psychoanalysis and with the supplement of Womanism will enrich our critical analysis of this study.

2.2 PSYCHOANALYSIS

Psychoanalysis is a discipline which is used to examine literature through language approach. Psychoanalysis theory is used to uncover repression and verbalise what has been rejected. It provides more information largely on language version. It also provides invisible features of literature analysis. It is out of utterance that one can have an insight into a particular literary work. It is beyond the word that it can seek a reality to fill this void. A psychoanalyst will come to analyse the subjects' behaviour in order to find out what the subject is not saying. It is an instrument of healing and of exploration in depth.

Eagleton (1983:158) writes as follows concerning the value of psychoanalysis:

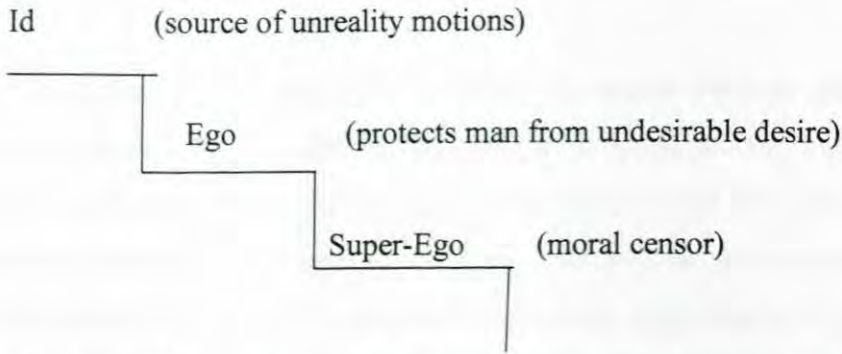
The aim of psychoanalysis is to uncover the hidden causes of the neurosis in order to relieve the patient of his or her conflicts, so dissolving the distressing symptoms.

This concept is also used in literature. Psychoanalytic theory of literature proceeds from the assumption that the discipline of psychoanalysis can be elucidatory and informative in the study of literature and that psychoanalysis can provide the key to an informed interpretation of literary texts. The value of psychoanalysis is thus that it is not merely the discovery of the unconscious, but that it offers a theory and a method for studying how the mind works for understanding another human being and his fictional world.

2.2.1 Description of psychoanalysis theory

According to the Freudian theory of psychoanalysis, the human mind is made up of three dynamic psychic areas called the Id, the Ego and Super-ego.

The coherent sequence of structure of psychoanalysis:



The Id is one of the areas which is predominantly concerned with sexual activities. This theory of psychoanalysis is centred around this part of the brain. This part of the brain is not attached to moral commitment or moral values and is the main source of aggressions and desires. The Id represents uncontrolled feelings and desires. If allowed, it would lead human beings to destruction, even self destruction.

The other psychic areas of the Ego and Super-Ego function mainly to protect the man and society. Ego stands for reason and represents the reality principle. Its main task is to keep the instinctive drives of the Id under control. Super-Ego is kind of a moral censor representing the moral principles. It helps to inhibit the drives of the unreality of Id.

The forbidden, mainly sexual, desires come into conflict with and are repressed by the internalised representative of social standards into the unconscious realm of the human being's mind, but are permitted by the censor to achieve fantasised satisfaction in distortions.

The substitution of an unconscious object of desire by one that is socially acceptable and the representation of repressed, mainly sexual, objects of desire by non-sexual objects which resemble them or are associated with the sexual needs of an individual.

The disguised fantasies that are evidence of unconscious wishes and the objects which are expressed in this distorted form are the latent content. The unconscious also harbours stages of psychosexual development from earliest infancy onward which have been outgrown by the mature person, but remain as fixations in the unconscious when activated by some later events. These fixations may achieve disguised expression in fantasy, whether in the form of dreams or literature.

The chief plan of psychoanalytic criticisms, consonant with the plan of the psychoanalysts in his therapeutic function, is to reveal the true content and also to explain the effect on the reader of a literary work by translating its manifest elements back into their latent unconscious determinants. The artistic person, for example, possesses a specially high degree of power to shift the instinctual drives from their original sexual goals to non-sexual goals including the discipline of a particular literary work (Robey 1984:125).

The ability to elaborate fantasised wish-fulfilment in a way that deletes their personal elements and so makes them capable of satisfying the unconscious desires of a person. The result is a fantasised wish-fulfilment of a complex sort that not only allows the artist to overcome, at least partially and temporarily personal conflicts and repressions, but also makes it possible for the artist's audience to obtain solace and consolation from their own unconscious sources of gratification which has become inaccessible to them.

Literature and art, therefore, unlike dreams and neuroses, may serve the artist as a mode of fantasy that opens the way back to reality. This outline of the psychoanalytic view of art was elaborated but not radically changed by Freud's later development in his theory of mental structural dynamics and processes.

2.2.2 Historical Background of the Psychoanalysis Theory

Contributions of Sigmund Freud:

Psychoanalysis theory was invented in one of the most prominent fields of social studies. This approach was the brainchild of the Austrian psychologist,

Sigmund Freud, who took the world by storm shortly after the turn of the 20th century with his outstanding studies in the field of psychology. Since then a very widespread psychological approach to literature has come to be used, whose premises and procedures were established by him.

Sigmund Freud (1856 – 1939) is credited with having made the greatest contribution to the development of the psychoanalytic theory. His theory attempts to explain human behaviour. The psychoanalytic theories of Freud and his colleagues introduced a new idea of the unconscious along with techniques for probing that element of the personality, and emphasised that all human behaviour is motivated and purposive.

According to Freud, humans have conflict because of their desires and energies that are repressed into the unconscious. These urges, ideas, desires and instincts are basic, but they are repressed because of society's morality. People are constantly trying, however, to express these natural drives in some way, often indirectly to avoid the reactions of others. Dreams are one example of indirect expression.

Freud saw original human nature as assertive and aggressive. This nature is not learned but deeply rooted in early childhood experiences. We all have undesirable tendencies. But during the socialisation process, most of us learn to control them by developing strong and effective inner controls. The improperly socialised child does not develop an ability to control impulses and acts them out, projects them inward. In the case of the latter, the child may become a delinquent.

2.2.3 **Psychoanalysis as a critical approach to literature**

This section will focus on the idea that a human being, whether the author or reader, is a psychological being. Freud's interest is in the psyche and its productions. In his classical psychological literary theory Freud traces art to the dream, and sees the dream as a route to the unconsciousness. This idea seems to suggest that psychoanalysis provides for the origin of art in literature, since it emphasises the fact that all art is a reflection of a state of mind. This indicates that the activities of an artist are initiated by the forces of the unconscious.

In general view a literary text consists of three individuals. The first is the writer, the creator of the text, the second is the reader, who gives new birth to the text in the process of reading, and the third individual is the character, who at the stage of the creation of a text exists only in the mind of the author.

Freud extends his analysis to the strategies whereby the artist, like a dreamer, creates compromise formations by which an unacceptable wish becomes, through the construction of an acceptable form, not only conscious but a highly pleasing work of art. Makaryk (1993) emphasises the fact that it is, therefore, to the reader that psychoanalytic criticism should turn, seeing in the act of reading the recreation of the reader's core self. The reader's core self is recreated by the third individual in the form of a character. The reader sees himself represented by the character who is the conveyor of the message of the text. During the reading process the reader's mind forms various mental pictures about the writer, the characters and the setting as he/she reads the text. He experiences the text cognitively, emotionally and socially. He laughs and cries with the characters as the situation in the text changes. These effects on the reader demonstrate that psychoanalysis has a place in literature. Strelka (1976:33) concurs with this view when he says: "the reader identifies with that hero and thus experiences the pleasure of feeling invulnerable, of being the centre of attraction."

In order for art, as it is initiated from the unconscious level of the mind, to reach the conscious level, a means of interpretation common to both art and psychoanalysis has to be employed. Art externalises the hidden activities of the unconscious by using language. If art is a dream as Freud suggests, the dream has to be interpreted for it to be accessible to the reader and the only way to do so is by using language. Makaryk (1993:165) further points out that like the dream, the surface of manifest content of the work contains within it a latent meaning which can be deciphered through interpretation. With regard to the above view, Strelka stresses the following statement:

The application of psychoanalytical methods to literary criticism is justified mainly on the grounds that both psychoanalysis and criticism are involved in the interpretation of symbols – the symbols of the human subconscious on the one hand and those of literary language on the other (1976:ix).

The symbolism of art, like the dream, reveals unconscious content in a relatively consistent relationship between symbol and unconscious meaning. To further support this common ground between psychoanalysis and art, Goldstein in Strelka (1976:260) emphasises that:

Psychoanalysis uncovers these terrifying repressions by penetrating defences; this the analyst does through a study of language. The psychoanalytic critic studies the language of a writer, or of the character created by that writer, to discover what is beneath the surface of description and speech and to determine what is being defended against.

According to Nkumane (1999:62), these definitions consolidate the role that language plays, from the initial stages of writing a work of art up until its comprehension and concretisation by the reader. Bateson in Strelka, (1976:vii) calls this process the “literary cycle”. In this cycle the language is used as a form of expression by the writer but as a means of comprehension by the reader.

Nkumane (Ibid) also believes that both psychoanalysis and art draw their information from human nature. As with the dream, the surface or manifest content of work contains within it a latent meaning which can be deciphered through interpretation. The interpretation of the unconscious is only possible through the use of a language. Psychoanalysis and use of language are used together to reveal unconscious content to the conscious. Freud is quoted in Skura, (1944:1) as having asserted that “the poets and the philosophers discovered the unconscious before I did.” This is an acknowledgement of the relationship that exists between psychoanalysis and art. Skura (1942:2) further highlights the fact that “everything we understand about the way we think is helpful in understanding the way literature works. The poets share with the analysts a knowledge of the unconscious depths, which in this case can be related to the underlying meaning of a poem. For the meaning of the unconscious to come into the open one has to interpret all the symbols by using language. Hirsch (in Skura, 1944:1) declares that “meaning is the affair of consciousness”. This is very true but it can only be attained, as Ferenczi in Skura, (1944:1) suggests, that “what is related to consciousness only

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Psychoanalysis uncovers these terrifying repressions by penetrating defences; this the analyst does through a study of language. The psychoanalytic critic studies the language of a writer, or of the character created by that writer, to discover what is beneath the surface of description and speech and to determine what is being defended against.

According to Nkumane (1999:62), these definitions consolidate the role that language plays, from the initial stages of writing a work of art up until its comprehension and concretisation by the reader. Bateson in Strelka, (1976:vii) calls this process the “literary cycle”. In this cycle the language is used as a form of expression by the writer but as a means of comprehension by the reader.

Nkumane (Ibid) also believes that both psychoanalysis and art draw their information from human nature. As with the dream, the surface or manifest content of work contains within it a latent meaning which can be deciphered through interpretation. The interpretation of the unconscious is only possible through the use of a language. Psychoanalysis and use of language are used together to reveal unconscious content to the conscious. Freud is quoted in Skura, (1944:1) as having asserted that “the poets and the philosophers discovered the unconscious before I did.” This is an acknowledgement of the relationship that exists between psycholanalysis and art. Skura (1942:2) further highlights the fact that “everything we understand about the way we think is helpful in understanding the way literature works. The poets share with the analysts a knowledge of the unconscious depths, which in this case can be related to the underlying meaning of a poem. For the meaning of the unconscious to come into the open one has to interpret all the symbols by using language. Hirsch (in Skura, 1944:1) declares that “meaning is the affair of consciousness”. This is very true but it can only be attained, as Ferenczi in Skura, (1944:1) suggests, that “what is related to consciousness only

becomes comprehensible and explicable when the meaning behind it is plumber.”

Nkumane (1999:63) stresses that Freud himself, at a later stage, discarded the dichotomy of the conscious and the unconscious as an identification of the parts of the mind, and limited it to describing whether or not we are consciously aware of a particular thought, whatever that thought might be. There are different ways of being aware of things and different aspects of a text which compel a certain kind of awareness. Rather than looking only for unconscious or conscious meaning, the analyst describes a whole range of what has been called “Modes of Consciousness”, or modes of representation. Freud discovered a variety of ways in which we become aware of ourselves and our world, and the means by which we represent both (Skura 1944:4). Nkumane (Ibid) believes that Skura’s point of argument aims at showing that other connections exist between psychoanalysis and literary criticism.

As literary critics we are very interested in psychoanalysis not so much for what it reveals about a human being or even about the particular human nature, but for the way in which it reveals anything at all. Changes in consciousness take place moment by moment and the actual process brings us closer to what goes on in literature than in the theory, with its rigid hypothesisations; this is how Nkumane (Ibid) views his idea about psychoanalysis and art.

2.2.3.1 Jung’s Studies

After Freud, mayhem prevailed as many critics sought psychoanalytic explanations for almost everything in literary works. In an attempt to bring some order to the confusion, Jung (1963:298) suggested that psychological research about the information of a work of art had to be separated from the factors that make an individual artistically creative:

In the case of the work of art we have to deal with a product of complicated psychic activities – but a product that is apparently intentional and consciously shaped. In the case of the artist we must deal with the psychic apparatus itself ... Although these two understandings are closely related and even interdependent, neither of them can yield the explanations that are sought by the other.

In his illuminative Man and his Symbols (1983), Jung discusses his most important psychoanalytic opinions. Mollema (1992:29) believes that Jung differs from Freud in that he rejects ready-made theories that want to solve and remedy every problem. For Jung the answer lies in myths, symbols and archetypes. Jung's advice (1983:42) to his students was to:

Learn as much as you can about symbolism; then forget it all when you are analysing a dream *or in our case, literary text*. (Emphasis mine)

This contradictory view accentuates that the analyst has to know and study symbols/archetypes/myths, but when it is applied, the analyst has to stay conscious of the unique presentation of these symbolic structures.

Jung's theory is sometimes called archetypal criticism. This type of criticism solicits for the existence of universal symbols, specific neither to the individual nor to his immediate cultured setting. Whereas Freud's symbols had to be interpreted within a specific cultural context, Jung's symbols are universal. Jung thus invented the phrase "collective unconscious", which signifies a deeper layer than the personal unconscious, in being a psychic disposition shaped by the forces of heredity. It has cosmic or universal origins, and to it belong the common stock of myths and fables. The images used in myths are sometimes magnanimous and remote from experience. In these there is overwhelming support for the magical power of words to attract and convince.

Jung's special field of research was individualisation, the psychology of personality. He raised the status of the unconscious mind from a depository of unfulfilled wishes to an instrument of creativity, which tends to free the conscious mind of its mechanisms. To him the unconscious seems to be the source of imaginative activity. This has an important bearing on the persona (the mask or façade) that every individual sets up to conceal his true nature. The persona is a distorted image of the self that one attempts to create in the minds of others. It is distorted by the suppression of qualities that nevertheless continue to exist, and to affect the individual in his decision making, which takes place in the conscious mind. By "individualisation" Jung meant the discovery of one's inner nature, and learning to regulate

one's life by it. Life is the energy that results from the conflict of antithesis in man's mental habits.

Discussion of Jung's theory will encompass concepts such as the collective unconscious, the libido, and his dream interpretation. The understanding of these concepts is crucial.

The unconscious is the most important part of the mind in Freud's theory because it is seen as the driving force behind the human psyche. To Jung the collective unconscious is important because it contains "all the contents of the psychic experience of mankind" (Strelka, 1976:8). The collective unconscious consists of two levels, that is, the personal level and the non-personal or the transpersonal level as it is sometimes called. To define the "collective unconscious" Corsini and Wedding (1989:121) say: "What is meant here is all human beings from the most remote past to our present days and into the foreseeable future, share the same inherited predispositions for psychic functioning". The above definitions point out that the collective unconscious takes into account all types of human experiences, and that it is innate because the conscious originates from it. What particularises the content of the collective unconscious is the fact that it can be inherited. Nietzsche in Strelka (1976:7) refers to this when he says:

This ancient element in human nature still manifests itself in dreams, for it is the foundation upon which higher reason has developed and still develops in every individual; the dream carries us back to remote conditions of human culture, and provides a ready means of understanding them better.

The conscious, as it brings us into contact with reality, is responsible for assigning value to the contents of the collected unconscious. The content is still tumultuous in nature and for it to make sense to the human subject it should reach the conscious level. Makaryk (1993:384) differentiates between the personal conscious and the collective unconscious. The collective unconscious is different from the personal unconscious (which Freud dealt with) because it is not made up of individual, unique or repressed contents, but of those that are inborn, universal and recurring". The personal

unconscious consists of everything repressed during one's development. According to Corsini and Wedding (Ibid: 127) the personal unconscious is composed of elements that had been conscious and are relatively easily available to consciousness.

The collective unconscious or the non-personal unconscious includes the archetypes, which are inborn psychic predispositions to perception, emotion and behaviour. It is formed by the instincts together with the archetypes. Archetypes are described as tendencies to produce form that is relatable to instincts which represent the precipitate of the psychic functioning of the whole ancestral line. They are the accumulated experiences of organic life in general, repeated a million times, and condensed into types (Makaryk 1993:384). Both the archetype and the collective unconscious contain certain accumulated psychic experiences that are traceable to the ancestral past. "Archetype" refers to the inherited, unconscious ideas and images that are the components of the unconscious. Corsini and Wedding (Ibid: 121) add that archetypes exist in us as potentialities; in our life circumstances which include our family and our environment. Some archetypes play an important role in the development of the personality, such as the persona, the shadow, the animus or anima and the self.

Contrary to Freud's theory, Jung postulates that man's instincts compel him to a specifically human mode of existence, so the archetypes force his ways of perception and apprehension into specifically human patterns. The fact that archetypes are unconscious structures suggests that a child is born with inherited psychic predispositions. The archetype is conceived as the agency that directs all psychic activity. It therefore acts to correct or compensate for conscious attitudes and values that are one-sided, fixated or development inhibiting. Jung's thoughts are perceived as mythocentric rather than logocentric. His thoughts are concerned with essence rather than function, with the symbolic rather than the meaning and with the diachronic or historically continuous aspect of language.

Jung deviated from Freud in his conception of the Oedipus Complex. While Freud equated the libido with sexual energy, to Jung the libido is energy from the unconscious. Libido is the psychic energy in any manifestation, including sexual desire and sexual drives.

Sexuality for Jung is more than mere instincts. Libido as an energy concept is a quantitative formula for the phenomenon of life, and Jung's perception of it urges us to conceptualise libidinal energy as the force of urgency in the human mind to live.

According to Jung, the Oedipus Complex or story is but one mythological pattern among many. From the Jungian point of view, Freud seems to have missed the point about this myth. Oedipus and his parents try to thwart fate, with disastrous results. Oedipus must face up to the mystery of his tragic fate, the mystery of the Sphinx to murder his father and marry his mother and then consciously accept the inevitably tragic guilt. It is to be noted that the incest is incidental and that the incest itself is not desired by Oedipus, nor is he punished for it. To clarify our story further Chaplin (1985:12) says that the Oedipus Complex was named after the Greek tragedy by Sophocles in which the hero, Oedipus, unwittingly killed his father and married his mother. Freud does not refer to the Oedipus Complex as a story but explains it by basing his argument on the instinctual drives.

Jung introduces the concept of amplification in his dream interpretation. This is opposed to the free association in Freud as dream analysis. Corsini and Wedding (1989:136) say, "an amplification is what an object actually is". They further state that amplification may come from yet another source of the unconscious. This includes the archetypal nature of the unconscious and will take into account mythology, fairy tales and literature in understanding the various symbols and dramas featured in the specific dream.

2.2.3.2 **The psychoanalytical theories of Jacques Lacan**

Jacques Lacan is generally counted among the major influential critic in poststructuralist literary criticism. Lacan is probably the most important interpreter of Freud's texts, and according to many modern theories, he is the "French Freud". He initiated a return to Freud's theories of the unconscious, but has also reformulated the theory.

Malcolm (1981:116) discloses that:

"Lacan reads Freud. This is the simplest and most important thing about him."

But Lacan reads Freud in a manner shaped by the structuralist linguistics of Saussure and Jakobson, who afford a framework whereby Lacan can assert that the unconscious is structured in the most radical way like language.

Lacan's psychoanalytic theory declares that the operation and effect of the text is determined by the unconscious. For Lacan, the unconscious is more than the source of primal instincts that are usually connected to ideas and images. It is structured in the same way as literary language.

Language usage is therefore actually a translation of hidden discourse. The source for searching and understanding of the meaning is thus situated in the desire or longing of the subject to know and understand his own unconscious and suppressed messages.

There are two reasons to view Lacan's psychoanalytical theory as structural in nature. The theory rests upon Lacan's opinion that the unconscious is structured like a language, and that human subjectivity is caught within a system of signification. His view is that the text itself, as a linguistic structure, has its own psyche. Before Lacan, applications of psychoanalytic theory to the arts considered the psychology of the person, whether the artist, character, or audience, not the text. It is therefore not surprising to learn that this theory has a lot in common with the linguistic theories of philosophers such as Ferdinand de Saussure and Roman Jakobson. Structural psychoanalysis places language at the centre of psychoanalysis. Language for Lacan is a system of signifiers that form a closed autonomous order. Lacan's stress on the symbolic order is based on his post-Saussurean analysis of the linguistic signifier. The signifier is meaningful not because it refers to a definite signified that determines it, but because it stands in opposition to another signifier.

Lacan postulates the existence of three orders in human experience. These are: the imaginary, the symbolic and the real. Lacan's theory is seen as a radical revision of Freud's ideas. In his discussion of the unconscious, Lacan moves from the view that if the unconscious is to be understood to be the prelinguistic locality that contains the instinctual representatives, then to him the unconscious is the effect of the human subject's entry into the linguistic

order. Lacan's statement suggests that the human subject's ability to speak should be traced back to the unconscious. According to him the unconscious is the origin of speech or language.

Lacan holds the view that a human subject is born into a symbolic order which consists of a linguistic system that has built in societal imperatives. This could be interpreted to mean that a human subject is born into a specific social environment that will have an effect on the subject's life from the day he is born until his death. By this Lacan refers to the norms and values that determine a subject's way of life from time to time. This reminds us of what Buchbinder calls the sex-gender system into which all people are born. This point also confirms true what Goldstein in Strelka (1976:262) says about psychoanalysis:

“Psychoanalysis is always aware of the past (which depressives concentrate on), of the present (the focus of hysterics), of the future (the compulsive element of obsessive), and the need to integrate the three”.

Lacan claims that the subject is an effect of the symbolic, decentred within the play of signifiers. He further claims that language is not just the world of words which creates the world of things but that man speaks because the symbol has made him man (Makaryk 1993:561). According to Lacan an individual is not born human but only becomes human through an incorporation into a social and cultural order.

Lacan's theory is influenced by Melaine Klein's object relations theory. Klein's work is based on the psychoanalysis of children. Lacan's imaginary theory is related to the mirror stage in the life of a child. With his theory of the mirror stage, Lacan answers the traditional psychoanalytic theories of development. This stage is represented concretely by the child's reflection of itself in the mirror. At this stage the child is conceived to be forming an external relation with other objects when it sees itself in the mirror. It is, then, through the mirror stage that the child gains access to the symbolic order. Makaryk (Ibid:560) says “thus, the formation of an “I” concept, the ego, occurs within the realm of the imaginary: the subject assumed an image,

or, as in another Lacanian formulation, the subject becomes object.” In other words, Lacan suggests that for the child’s ego to be the subject, it must internalise a principle of otherness as a consequence of its own desire. The desire here relates to the “other”, the imaginary figure, the “Other” image in the mirror. Lacan moves on to say that the “Other” is an effect of signification. The “Other” indicates another meaning to the child. Lacan is determined to separate sex drives from any natural or instinctual base. For him the desire does not stem from the unconscious but from the imaginary.

The mirror stage is characterised as a state of helplessness and uncoordination in the infant’s life. During this stage, though, the child experiences an imaginary state of mastery and bodily unity. The child’s experience of itself is very personal at this stage. Eagleton (1983:164) concurs:

This self, as the mirror situation suggests, is essentially narcissistic. We arrive at a sense of an “I” reflected back to ourselves by some object or person in the world. This object is at once somehow part of ourselves, we identify with it, and yet not ourselves, something alien.

The child makes an imaginary identification with its reflection and takes this as a model for its interaction with the external world, and especially the mother. Unlike Freud who traces the origin of the Oedipus Complex from the unconscious, Lacan sees the imaginary state as the source of the formation of the Oedipus Complex. The child’s entry into the symbolic order breaks this imaginary unity and fantasy, and all impulse and desire is then mediated through signification. This signification causes a repression of desire, which results in the split between the conscious and unconscious knowledge.

The real is beyond all signification and yet can only be accessed through the signifiers that are available to us through language. Lacan diverges from Saussure’s equation of the signifiers and the signified to expose the unstable relation between the two, illustrating not only that the signifier slides over the field from which the signified is represented, but also that,

beyond any sign system or infantile fantasy, there exists a real which defies and yet demands representation. Lacan's formulation of the subject's constitution in language leads him to revise Freud's unconscious mechanisms of condensation and displacement according to Roman Jakobson's tropes of metonymy and metaphor as the two fundamental poles of all language. If the unconscious is structured like a language, then its mechanisms can best be described by rhetorical tropes. The unconscious, with its store of memories, words and images, moves along a chain of signifiers which can mistake one signifier for another similar to it and substitute that signifier, or it can find one signifier to be proximate to another and so provide an associative link.

The crucial point for Lacan is that the process of symbolisation effects a cut, a castration, which shatters the illusion of unity with desire for the "Other" while at the same time promising a substitution in representing desire in language. Language acts like the "Name-of-the-father" in the human subject, separating the subject from the mother while inserting the subject into the social order of names. Naming destroys the imaginary wholeness of the prelinguistic, pre-Oedipal state. Lacan in this regard is highly dismissive of the ego-psychologists and subject relationists who see the autonomous ego as whole and stable, an entity with its own energies and aims.

Lacan's work has implications for literary criticism which are wider than the classical applications of psychoanalytical theory to a given work of art. Lacan emphasises that language structures the human subject; it not only mediates all relations to the other and the real but defines it. Lacan makes the analysis of language and its productions in culture the central task of the critic and analyst. The features of Lacan as a post-Saussurean and as a French scholar who has been influenced by deconstructionism, are evident in his emphasis that language consists of a play of signifiers. Lacan is of the opinion that a text does not contain a fixed meaning. The signifier is meaningful not because it refers to a definite signified that determines it, but because it stands in opposition to another signifier. To literary critics this could be interpreted to mean that a work of art should be conceived in reaction to various objects, as opposed to a single object.

2.3 WOMANISM

2.3.1 The historical background of Womanism

“Womanism” originated in the African-American Community, particularly women. It is the African-American women who came up with the new concept of womanism. Black women writers have themselves played critical roles in womanist criticism. Womanism is a concept associated with Alice Walker, who fought vigorously for the recuperation and recognition of a tradition of black women writers within which she can discover a theory of black female creativity. Womanism, then, is commonly known as black feminism. In order to obtain a full understanding of this term let us first look at the origin of the concept Womanist, as describe by Kramarae and Treichler (1985) in their book.

Kramarae and Treichler (1985:495) say that the term “Womanist” is derived from womanish, which is the opposite of girlish. They say a womanist is:

A black feminist or feminist of colour. From the black folk expression of mothers to female children “You acting Womanish”, i.e. like a woman. Usually referring to outrageous, audacious, courageous or wilful behaviour.

They further explain a woman as:

A woman who loves other women, sexually and-or non-sexually. Appreciates and prefers women’s culture, women’s emotional flexibility and women’s strength. Committed to the survival and wholeness of entire people, male and female.

The above definitions are very important in that both give the picture and how it functions in a socio-culture of AmaXhosa. The first definition explains that Womanism refers to an African feminist and that it emanates from black mothers, who in the upbringing of their daughters, always encourage them to act in an acceptable social manner.

Womanism, then, must be understood to be linked with mature behaviour, which is different from that of a young girl. A womanist is, according to this definition, any black woman who displays bold, daring, adventurous, independent and determined actions.

Nkumane (1999:25) believes that:

The second definition further suggests that a womanist is not just a determined woman, but she also appreciates women's culture and women's strength. Black women as women of colour are distinct from other women because of the common African cultures they believe in. The appreciation of women's culture suggests that Womanism is culturally coded. Its nature reflects African women's historical, cultural and spiritual experience, especially when it refers to the uniqueness of and the struggle involved in being black and female in a society that is hostile to womanhood. Womanism in this context urges that in spite of the many cultural assaults, and no matter how much culture tries to communicate to woman she is minor, that she should take a back seat. A real womanist should rise above all these stereotypical cultural notions. Working together with other members of the community she should move forward to obtain unity in her community.

Nkumane (Ibid) also says:

The definition also conveys the idea that a womanist is a real, supportive, wilful woman, who is committed to the well-being of both sexes. A womanist is an emotionally flexible woman who can endure various life situations. The opposite of a docile woman. She is also not a separatist because she has the interest of all people at heart, irrespective of their sex. There is an explicit urge and determination within black women for self-love that will enable them to be and feel relational, committed, capable and inquiring. It is evident that Womanism, in Walker's thinking, is an Afrocentric vision. The main idea behind Womanism is black unity.

According to Makaryk (1993:9) Black feminist criticism and theory emerged from the complex and conflicted relationship of black women to black men during the Black Power Movement in the 1980's and Civil Rights Movement of the 1960's. This may be deduced from Makaryk's statement that the womanist idea emerged because African American female voices had been left omitted from feminism, and from the writings of black male writers.

The usage of the term Womanism has now gone beyond Alice Walker's definition. Black women in many parts of the world, as well as in South Africa, have adopted Womanism as a symbol of their unique experience as women. This experience is exclusive to women because it touches on all the structures that denigrate a woman. It remains a priority for men and women, even in South Africa, to mobilise and organise the nation for the liberation and the respect of women. Nationalism and patriarchy continue as the major themes in women's politics. Hassim says:

This means that the challenge to feminism [Womanism] is to confront not only patriarchy but also those women's organisations which remain committed to a more narrowly defined nationalist project (1991:67).

Womanism, like other women's movements, challenges the patriarchal oppressive structures that block the development of women in the society. Hassim stresses that Womanism not only challenges patriarchy but matriarchy too is challenged, in order to enhance the development of women to a very great extent. This reminds us of what other womanists and the African women argued about at the first international conference on "Women in Africa and the African diaspora: Bridges Across Activism and the Academy" held in Nigeria in 1992. Nnaemeka in Irele (1995:83) reports that while the Western feminist and womanist participants complained about the presence of too many male (mostly African) participants, the African women demanded that the conference agenda include a serious debate on hierarchies among women and woman-on-woman violence and the abuses that result from these social inequalities.

Besides exposing the fact that important issues related to African woman are hijacked and not discussed by feminists, the incident in Nigeria implicitly draws attention to the fact that Womanism also fights the abuse of women by other women. This is unique to African women because, for example, it takes into consideration the situation of women in a polygamous situation where the chief wife has authority over the other wives. It also refers to the situation between the mother-in-law and the bride. The fact of the matter here is that womanistic scholarship remains one of the most powerful critical and analytical tools in African literature and has immense possibilities for fostering intellectual maturity and social change. Black women in South Africa are not different from other women in the world. They are no exception from the social marginalisation that other women experience all over the world. They also need to belong to a movement that will cater for their unique cultural needs, and Womanism is an ideal haven for them.

South African black women need to belong somewhere after they have realised that their involvement in the struggle did not earn them their freedom. Makaryk (1993:9) confirms that:

Many black women recognised that while the Black Power movement of the 1970's was radically Afrocentric, it also remained powerfully androcentric, with the liberation of women within the group being subordinated to the aspirations of the group as a whole.

Nkumane (1999:30) says:

As we deal with Womanism, we are also operating within the realm of gender inequality between men and women. It is no vague claim that Womanism has begun to assert itself in the context of the broader political transition in the whole world and in South Africa. Many women had thought that the liberation of the nation would obviously occur simultaneously with the liberation of women. Women, however, also hoped that the overthrow of apartheid would also mean an overthrow of patriarchy, that is the idea of Nkumane (1999:30). This was not the case. In terms of social liberation, women still find themselves in the same position they were before 1994 in South Africa. This situation calls for a number of organisations that can speak and act regarding women's situation.

Buchbinder (1991:122) agrees with Makaryk in his comment:

In different countries, in different contexts, with different theories, slogans and purposes, women variously enlisted for social action, only to find that the freedoms for which they marched did not necessarily include freedom from oppression on the basis of sex.

Nkumane (1999:60) believes that:

Women all over the world committed the same blunder, trusting that national liberation also ensured the equality of the sexes. Women did not simply stand by their men but they fought alongside them for the black community's freedom. They fought as equals, but at the end of the liberation struggle they were not treated as equals. The situation remained the same even for the black women who belonged to the various political parties. The domination of political organisations by men and the marginalisation of women from decision-making positions prevailed until very recently. Positions that confine a woman to the management of a home do not develop and prepare her for the management of national issues. Issues linked to home management do not empower the women to challenge social structures which oppress them. It is noticeable that national liberation movements do not guarantee women's emancipation. Women still find themselves lacking in direct access to decision-making structures in society. Kgositsile states that there has been a refusal by many organisations to engage with Womanism. She argues that:

Men are so comfortable with being waited on that many are not particularly keen to discuss women's emancipation even if they are supposed to be revolutionaries. Women, on the other hand, are so used to "catering" for others that they tend to hold on to the roles that retard their development (Hassim 1991:69).

This short review of women's position, only in the political movement as a whole, indicates the strong patriarchal structure upon which our society is based. Women have been allocated a special place, one which reinforces

their subordinate political and social status. This realisation empowers women to take the lead in creating a non-sexist South Africa. The ways in which men and women operate in society are not natural and given, but are historically and culturally constructed and socially located. Therefore they can be changed.

Patriarchy forms a barrier which Womanism attempts to break down. Womanists challenge the traditional view of relational patterns by calling for a critical analysis of the African community. To survive we must also examine the manner in which we relate in our community. We cannot afford to continue dysfunctional relational patterns. In this sense Womanism could be conceived of as a movement that also concerns itself as much with the black power tussle as with the world power structure that subjugates blacks. It is evident that sexual identity and sexual divisions are deeply embedded in the cultural experience of African women. It is conditions like these that motivate African women to take up their pens and describe their own life experiences as they really are. Even in writing women are faced with men who form strong barriers when it comes to the publishing of women's literature, maybe because it exposes how abusive they have been to the Mother of the Nation.

Smith cited by Makaryk (1993:9) proclaims that a Black feminist approach to literature, which embodies the realisation that the politics of sex as well as the politics of race and class are crucially interlocking factors in the works of Black women writers, is an absolute necessity.

2.4 NAME GIVING AS A LITERARY FRAMEWORK

Name giving is very important for IsiXhosa writers who want to call their characters by a certain name. Names of characters play a significant role not just for the sake of naming as an art form, but also for the literary critic who has to identify the unseen characters by their names. Most often namelessness entails a lack of identify. Literary onomastics has become one of the literary devices employed by AmaXhosa writers to communicate various messages and intentions to the reader. When defining literary onomastics Altman-Alvarez (1989:1) says:

Literary onomastics is a more specialised literary criticism in which scholars are concerned with the levels of significance of names in drama, poetry, fiction and folklore.

Alvarez distinguishes onomastics as that part of literary criticism in which names of characters are examined for the influence they have in a work of art. The meaning of the names of characters is important to the work as a whole. Ashley, like Alvarez, further stresses the implications of names in literature. For Ashley the meaning of names and their current applications in literature is significant. She views onomastics as:

A study of the origin and history of proper names. From a Greek term meaning “names”, Onomastics is concerned with the folklore of names, their current application, spelling, pronunciation, and meanings ...

(Ashley and Alvarez 1987:11)

When engaged in the study of names a critic should first strive to know the origin and the history of a particular name or proper name. According to Nuessel (1992:1) proper names “are not connotative”; they denote the individuals who are called by them; but they do not indicate or imply attributes as belonging to those individuals.” Pulgram is quoted by Nuessel (1987:11) to have stated that the distinguishing quality of proper names is that they connote nothing and have, strictly speaking, no meaning. What is expected from the onomastics critic then is to trace the origin and the history of the proper names he comes across in his literature. The original Greek version of onomastics as explained by Ashley encouraged the knowledge of the traditional beliefs surrounding a particular name, the contemporary situation to which the name referred, how it was written and pronounced and what it means. The above definition indicates the relationship between a name and folklore. “Folklore of names”, in this context, could be understood to mean that names should be studied against the traditional beliefs or background of the community in which they are used. These beliefs of any particular society should be taken into consideration because they throw more light on the origin and history of the names that the writer uses.

Altman-Alvarez (1987:12) says:

Names in literature frequently demand to be considered as if they were complete little poems, with all the richness that implies. We must see in each name all of a poem's "cerebral phosphorescences", ... for in names writers of skill pack many connotations and ... "tell all the truth/But tell it slant" they produce little puzzles for the critic who must "by indirection find direction out".

The modern theory of name giving, therefore, demands inventiveness, restraint, skill, taste, insight and industry from the writer. If names are to read as little poems, this simply says no name can be taken to be simple. Any name, therefore, should be unpacked, deconstructed and reconstructed again if any critic wants to obtain its full understanding because writers hide the truth in names. A name should be treated as a jigsaw puzzle that needs to be assembled to see its full picture. Ferlinghetti in Altman-Alvarez (1987:11) complements this view by saying:

When studying names in literature we are in fact seeking for both the "pot of message" and the poet or the maker who performs "high above the heads of the audience".

This means that when analysing names in literature one is actually engaged in searching for some closed kind of meaning that the author purposely conceals from the audience or the readers. Meaning is expressed by the writer's manipulation of the name and the skill used to make his point clear. The fact that the writer performs above the heads of the audience means that with his/her skill he sets the mind of the audience to work. Nkumane (1999:65) believes that:

Name giving places demands on the critic because he/she must be an expert, that is able to grasp both what the author intended the names to mean and what they do actually mean. The author may be playing games with the words that he uses in his text. It takes hard work and a lot of imagination on the part of the reader to distinguish between what is reading out of a work and what is reading in, what is there as a result of the writer's conscious intention and what is accidental or

imagined by the reader. It is therefore important that one must be able to comprehend the name as the creator wrote it.

Nkumane (1999:53) says that we should take into consideration questions like: what does the name mean to the reader, and what is there to read into simple, ordinary names? The careful writer may be using simple names from real life or have chosen them because they just sound right. When studying names of characters in literature, in Ashley's words we are taught to look, as it were, for bumps on the cortex which may indicate something in the nucleus, some emphasis in fiction which hints at deeper truth or significance (Altman-Alvarez, 1987:20). Ashley adds that the conscientious writer must consider not only what a name is to convey and what it can relay, but also what misleading connotations it might have in the language and even those into which the work may be translated. Nkumane (1999:53) believes that it may be a good suggestion that one must use a dictionary of the correct language when interpreting names, otherwise the real meaning of the names may be lost. Literary critics need to know the naming systems and the naming traditions at various periods and in various places. Names are to be considered as an integral part of a work of art. Critics have to pay more attention as to how the names function in the work of art, whether they have meaning that can be looked at or not. This involves a whole linguistic and cultural context and factors such as the psychological, the sociological and historical, more taxing than simple taxonomy.

2.5 VARIOUS THEORETICAL APPROACHES

The use of womanism, name giving and psychoanalysis enables us to realise that a person is a gendered subject, a culturally obliged and a psychological being. All these aspects are inherent in the state of being human. Womanism has indicated that women are still engaged in an ongoing war against the male's authority. Women's absence from powerful social and political structures has not silenced them. Through literature women have been able to voice their pain to the entire world.

Nkumane (1999:71) believes that African women's writings aim to represent the collective concerns of the black community and also to strive that black

critics share the conviction that criticism must empower writers who were marginalized and excluded from the African male and the white literary tradition.

The cultural naming processes continue to indicate the exclusion of women from important cultural issues because the naming process was dominated by men. We have been made aware that names are circumstantial. Names are pointers or references because there are various influences that operate in the naming of a child. In AmaXhosa society, the circumstances under which a child is named are very important.

According to Nkumane (1999:71) Jung's collective unconscious and Lacan's symbolic order, stress the significant effect of the socio-cultural environment on a person. The behaviour of the characters in the IsiXhosa selected texts will be analysed in association with the environment in which they are portrayed. The characteristics of the environment interact with the nature of the people in it. Wilson quotes Bandua, in Corsini and Wedding (1989:242) who comments that:

Personal and environmental factors do not function as independent determinants; rather they determine each other. Nor can "person" be considered causes independent of their behaviour. It is largely through their actions that people produce the environmental conditions that affect their behaviour in a reciprocal fashion. The experiences generated by their behaviour also partly determined what individuals think, expect and can do which, in turn, affects their subsequent behaviour.

The following chapter presents evidence that the cultures of forced marriage and arranged marriage have adverse effects for both men and women, particularly in AmaXhosa society, and that the names given to male characters in these texts show sexual inequality among the sexes, and that in the end these cultures, as they form the living environment in which the characters find themselves, have psychological effects on the behaviour of the characters.

Moleleki (1988:15) observes that “writers mature within a culture; they learn their skills and their craft within that culture; and so inevitably reflect some aspects of that culture in their writing.” Moleleki’s comment highlights the fact that literary works of African writers usually have some traditional flavour. Most African writers in the process of finding their own voice have had to go back to their roots. The manner in which writers use the names of characters in their works reflects the fact that personal names are not cultural universals. Cultural practices associated with the naming of children vary from one society to another.

According to Nkumane (1999:53) African personal names are known as family names in IsiXhosa. These names are widely observed to possess much meaning. The available records of our traditional naming practices come from the Missionaries. The reason for this might be that during this time our people were unable to write. They only started Western schooling with the arrival of the Missionaries and it would, therefore, have taken some time before they would have been able to preserve our culture in writing. It has been observed that, traditional personal names were unique and meaningful.

Suzman (1994:253) refers to Koopman who discusses the “extra meaning” in names and the “social comment” they make about the community. Namegiving according to this observation, provides an outlet for the regulation of social relations in the communities. It allowed people to communicate their feelings indirectly without overt confrontation and possible conflict. Culturally, then, the AmaZulu children were given names that reflected values and attitudes which emanated from the social fabric of the name givers. Original and idiosyncratic names emerged. These names are usually tangentially related to the child. It seems as it is still impossible to give children names that are not connected to certain circumstances. This idea of Suzman is popularly used by AmaXhosa in naming their children based on certain circumstances they experienced in life. Fromkin and Rodman (1983:187) explain this point when they say, “although the naming

of children is more conventional and the language provides a stock of personal names, many parents coin a name for their child that they hope (usually in vain) to be original.

2.7 CLASSIFICATION OF NAMES BY SUSAN M. SUZMAN

Suzman (1994:258) acknowledges the fact that IsiZulu names have been well-studied synchronically. She further points out that although the social context of naming is much more flexible in the current isiZulu society, name givers still give children names that emanate from the social fabric of their lives. Suzman (Ibid:258-263) classifies names into three categories i.e. names as pointers, names reflecting social/financial position in life and those that reveal the child's sex and birth order.

2.7.1. Names as pointers

Nkumane (1999:56) believes the names in this category can be described within a social framework that makes reference to some significant aspect of the name giver's life. This category emphasises the social input that is part of the naming tradition. In this case the social context within which naming is embedded becomes part of the name itself. Names point outward from the individual toward various people, or toward institutions relevant to the namer's state of mind. Sociolinguistic aspects of naming are seen in names that are injunctions to individuals in the larger society. The referential value of names plus their social input underlies the idea of names as pointers. Suzman (Ibid:261) found that people gave personal names that pointed to the mother, the father, birth circumstances, the child, the child's sex and religion. Examples of names that fall into this category, according to Suzman (Ibid:259) are names such as : Thobeka "Be Calm". The name points to the personality of this girl.

Suzman gives a number of these names but, unfortunately, we cannot exhaust the whole list of these names here. Nkumane (1999) observes that these names are directly focussed on the name giver's personal life. A single name may be chosen by different parents for different reasons. They are questions or commands that often identify sources of conflict. According to Nkumane (Ibid) these names make the sources of conflict public by pointing

at the person responsible. Suzman (1994:260) refers to Tonkin (1980:655) who in her study of Kru names in East Africa, noted that names are “Messages to others”. She also quotes Alford who noted that naming among the Dogon may involve a “message from the name giver”.

2.7.2 Names that refer to the child’s sex and birth order

AmaXhosa traditional family would have a number of children, and they would often name them according to their sex and their expectation as parents. Boys were always favoured as future name givers and heads of their families; so it was particularly good to have a boy first, in which case he received a name like Sakhumzi “Build the home”. The father who named his son uMandlenkosi “Power of God” referred to God’s power to have a son. Girls were often welcome as helpers for their mothers and sources of wealth of the family. Girl’s names such as Nomthandazo shows that the parents were consistently praying for a child.

Nkumane (1999:60) says: “the name practice is influenced by Western factors like acculturation, education and Christianity. Modern names differ significantly from traditional ones and they provide evidence that the world view within which names are given is in the process of redefinition. New names were mostly a result of education or Christianity. For the child to be baptised and to be able to attend school, it had to possess an English name. The English name was used at school, in the church and at work. The school name and the baptismal name served almost the same purposes. New Biblical names adopted from the Scriptures and God-related names appeared. Names like: uJosefu, uDaniyeli, uMariya, etc. are proof of this. AmaXhosa in general at a particular period preferred their Western names to their traditional ones.

Zungu quoted by Ngubane (1996:2) comments that:

It is also worth mentioning that up to the late sixties, people felt very embarrassed if one called a person by his Zulu origin name. The Africans preferred names of foreign origin to their own traditional origin names.

At a particular period, calling a person by his/her African name was like an insult. People regarded their African names as shameful and a lower status. Currently the situation has changed. Many young people are using their African names in all situations. This Nkumane (Ibid:60) believes may be due to the work of the Black Consciousness Movement and the current emphasis on the African Renaissance. More African people now want to be associated with their traditional roots. Ngubane (1996:6) refers to Nsimbi in Koopman who appreciates the use of African in names:

During the period of colonisation, African names were not encouraged by missionaries who regarded the African names as uncivilised. If one became a Christian the person had to have a new name which was regarded as his Christian name.

There are many good traditions and customs which the African tribes are losing much of this inheritance in an attempt to adopt western culture wholesale ... In my opinion the use of African names ought to be preserved ...

Today people live in a multicultural society. It is observed that names are not static but evolve over time, often losing their referential meaning. Names also change with societal changes because a number of people are moving from the rural to urban environments and their societal framework is transformed. Another important shift is that modern urban names do not point to the odd or exceptional physical characteristics of the child but to the child's appearance. Names like uCikizwa "Facial Beauty", "The girl is beautiful", point to parental aspirations for the child.

2.8

CONCLUSION

The use of a theoretical framework such as psychoanalysis, womanism and name giving enable the reader to realise that a person is a gender subject, a cultural subject and a psychological being. All these are social, human aspects. Womanism has indicated that women are still waging an ongoing, warlike campaign against patriarchy. Women's exclusion from powerful social structures has not silenced them. Through the use of literature, women

have been able to communicate their pain to the whole world. The cultural social setting continues to indicate the exclusion of women and children from important cultural issues because of the social domination by men. Psychoanalysis deals with collective unconscious, and symbolic order, and stresses the significant effects of the socio-cultural environment upon a person. The behaviour of the characters in the selected texts will be analysed in association with the social environment in which they are portrayed.

CHAPTER 3

CULTURAL PRACTICES AMONG AMAXHOSA

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter an extensive discussion of AmaXhosa's social life in pre-modern times will be presented. This will cover the social activities and how the power was shared by the AmaXhosa community within their families and the society. The following aspects such as education, childbirth, economic life, gender role and division of labour will be dealt with in this chapter.

These aspects, as they manifest, will be covered in Tamsanqa (1987), Mtingane (1992) and Mmango (1983). This component of cultural conflict will be covered in **Buzani Kubawo** (1983), **Inene Nasi Isibhozo** (1992) and **uDike noCikizwa** (1983). These texts illustrate the cultural conflict and also depict a vivid picture of the generation gap between the traditionalists and the civilised youth.

3.2 EDUCATION

During pre-modern times AmaXhosa children were never exposed to a formal type of education. They received guidance at home under the supervisions of parents, more especially the grandparents, who had a skill for passing on knowledge of the culture of their society. Listening was an important skill for the children and so was imitating the behaviour of their parents and grandparents. There was no recorded data about the cultural history of the society; everything was transmitted from generation to generation by word of mouth. Old members of the community served as stores of information.

A typical instance of this is in Tamsanqa's **Buzani Kubawo** (1987). Tamsanqa informs us about Zwi lakhe, who has a profound knowledge of the pedigree of the AmaHlubi tribe.

3.3 THE GENDER ROLE IN NAMING

This section pays attention to the analysis of the names of the main characters who are directly affected by their cultural set-up. Attention is also paid to the fact that names convey various attributes which characterise male and female characters in different ways. It is the aim of this study, since it concerns itself with socio-cultural inequality between the sexes, to indicate that some of the attributes displayed by a name point to current sexual roles we find in society. It has been noted in AmaXhosa culture that traditional name givers were men. Nuessel (1992:3) contends that “those who give names are usually in positions of power and authority like in the case of ZwiLakhe in ‘**Buzani Kubawo**’ ”. Consequently, the act of naming implies that the naming group has a measure of control.” This, however, could mean that the name-giver bestows certain powers on a name. What all this means is that names have power. Nuessel cites Bosmajian (1974a) who frequently observed that the ability to name is an important power. More specifically Bosmajian states that:

The power that comes from names and naming is related directly to the power to define others – individuals, races, sexes, ethnic groups. Our identities, who and what we are, how others see us, are greatly affected by the names we are called and the words with which we are labelled.

(Nuessel 1992:3).

There may be truth found in Bosmajian’s idea of the common belief that personal names contribute to the way in which we view ourselves and also to how other people perceive us as well. In the case of **Buzani Kubawo** we view ZwiLakhe as a selfish person who does not want to listen to other people’s viewpoint. This underlines the strong relationship between a person’s name and his or her whole psychological perspective of himself or herself. Viewed in this light, a name is assumed to have a significant effect on an individual’s ego. The above statement also points out that names contain a certain kind of power and that this power, in turn, determines the distinctiveness and uniqueness of each individual. To be named by someone who is in a powerful

position means that the name-giver is likely always to exert some control over the existence of the named individual. By now we already know that names are carefully considered so that exactly the right name is bestowed and that names are chosen by the parents through various procedures. To be coupled with the above notion is the meaning of the name. The power of a name lies in its meaning. It may be that the parent who is giving the name does it with the hope that the name will be a self-fulfilling prophecy, for instance, the child will have the attributes and the powers attached to the name. Nuessel (1992:3) moves on to say that "from this perspective, it may be said that you are what you are named."

It goes without saying that we cannot divorce ourselves from our names. If the words with which we are labelled are always with us, then it means that we display our labels wherever we go. Labels normally separate the quality of various garments from one another, and this is what our names do. They separate us from the next person.

3.3.1 A Name for the Child

The naming technique of AmaXhosa children plays a vital role because it helps to predict their expected behaviour. It has cultural origins and started from the African practice of giving names. Among other things, name giving may represent an internal conflict experienced by one of the parents or child's physical appearance.

Children were given names within their first year and this was done quite unceremoniously and without any special function. Aubrey (1981:58) agrees with the above information about the naming of AmaXhosa children.

There were two popular categories of names, firstly those that link the time of the birth of the child with some important event which took place about then, and the other was where the person naming the child simply liked the sound of a particular word and used it as his child's name.

Mandela (1995) illustrates the significance of the name-giving event when referring to the name bestowed on him by his father. His name Rholihlahla which literally means “pulling the branch of a tree”, but its colloquial meaning more accurately would be “trouble maker” (Mandela, 1995:3). Although Mandela does not believe this, it was within his father’s power to bestow a name upon him, but ultimately the semantic meaning is attributable to “The many storms ... both weathered”.

Uchendu (1965:60) states that “receiving a name is an important event in a child’s life for he is socially accepted as soon as he is given a name”. In Igboland name-giving is marked with a “formal occasion celebrated by feasting and drinking”. Hunter’s (1936:155) observation in her studies among the Pondos was that there is no ceremony connected with the naming of the child. The name may either be chosen by the “father of the child or his elder relatives or by the mother herself.” A common feature is that there is a semantic meaning attached to the name given, it may be the child’s physical appearance or the name marks an important occasion or event.

AmaXhosa did not know the date of their children’s birthdays and the first system of naming accordingly served a useful purpose because it tended to define the person’s age in later life. For instance, if there were unseasonably heavy flood at the time a child was born he might be called “Mvuleni” or if he was born when the mealie crops were, as a result, good, he could just as easily be named Ndyebo or Nondyebo (Wealth). The names **Cikizwa** is from ukucikizwa which means ‘Beautiful’, **Themba** which means ‘Hope’ and **Gugulethu** which means ‘Bride’ – all these names are from the selected text.

W.K. Tamsanqa, A.M. Mmango and A. Mtingane all provide the name-giving episode in their respective dramas, and one can identify the relevance in the meanings of the names given and how they have been used fittingly in their stories.

3.3.2 Naming of the Bride

One of the first duties of the bride’s in-laws is to give her a new name. This is done by male members of the family but with the mother-in-law also having a

say. Aubrey (1981:49) agrees that the name chosen is usually prefixed with 'No' pronounced 'Noh', for example, Noayini or the use of a clan name like Masukude and MaGaba. This prefix 'No' means 'mother of' and has been passed down through untold generations as the handle to a woman's name. The type of name they give their women is "Nojoyini" which means "Contract".

The bride, in accordance with the culture of AmaXhosa, has to work harder than her counterpart male and she has to accept her separate position in the home of her parents-in-law where there are specific rules she should obey. One rule that a married women has to remember is that the left side of the hut, on entering, belongs to her father-in-law and the right to her mother-in-law. Aubrey (1981:50) agrees that if a married woman fails in her duties as a wife or if she displeases her husband in any way, she runs the risk of being punished with a beating. In the same way, for running away from home she might be beaten to teach her a lesson. This kind of treatment in AmaXhosa society is oppressive to womenfolk and it is not acceptable for men to beat their wives. If he does he is likely to be punished and pay some of his cattle for beating his wife.

The above statement shows that women in AmaXhosa society are treated as slaves. Men can do whatever they want to do to them. The culture of AmaXhosa projects women as people who are supposed to accept things that society expects of them from the men as their counterpart.

3.3.3 Naming of Characters

This section pays more attention to the analysis of the names of certain characters who are directly affected by their traditional culture. Attention is paid to the fact that names convey various attributes which characterise male and female characters in different ways. It is the main objective of this study, since it concerns socio-cultural inequality between sexes, to indicate that some of the attributes displayed by a name points to the current sexual role we find in AmaXhosa society.

3.3.4 Naming in Buzani Kubawo

It is true that, like parents, writers give names to their characters with a specific purpose in mind, as such names of characters may contribute to the plot, theme and other literary elements of a text. In this drama we shall look at three names – that of Thobeka, the submissive girl, Gugulethu and Zwilakhe. The name Zwilakhe means - his words are final no matter what happens. Everything he thinks is right and nobody can oppose his ideas. Zwilakhe's actions illustrate his naming because he does not accept any advice from anyone else except his wife. The story is centred around Zwilakhe's stubbornness, of arranged marriage for his son. Zwilakhe is an emotionally related traditional name given to a male. This kind of naming is associated with the father who does not want to listen to anybody. It has been known by traditionalists that father is the master head of a family. It is true that some fathers maintained their cultures and transferred their cultural obligation to their family.

These following words show who Zwilakhe is bullying his family.

Mna zinkosi andikhathali nokuba umntu uchasa ade
alale ngomqolo phantsi, ndifuna intombi KaMcothama
ize kurhuga amajalimani kule nkundla nokuba sekumnyana entla.

(As for me fellows I don't care even if a person objects and
lies with his back on the floor, I want Mcothama's daughter
to come and sweep with this tribal court with 'German Prints'
come what may.) (Tamsanqa 1987:21)

The above extract depicts Zwilakhe as a person who does not listen to other people. Murphy (in Nuessel, 1992:5) confirms some psychological example that reinforces this claim, when he reiterates that: "... given names, surnames, nicknames, and assumed names have numerous important significances in the development of individuals, and often give clues to their attitudes toward themselves and others with whom they have been closely associated." Nuessel's statement brings new light to the fore, which is that a namer influences the psychological being of an individual. The psychological effect of Zwilakhe's name on his nature is made evident by his actions and his characteristic behaviour. In this way it seems that a name partly influences the way in which an individual thinks.

The giving of a name to a child has significance within the larger family of AmaXhosa. This is true if we take into consideration that some names reveal the circumstances of the family at the time when the child was born (see para 3.4.1) Gugulethu is one of such names. The name Gugulethu means “Pride”. Gugulethu is also an emotion-related name. The Rhadebe family fell blessed with a baby boy who would look after the family when the father is no more. Herbert (1994:3) concurs that:

Boys, on the other hand, are more likely recipients of names commemorating family members or acknowledging roles within the family.

Herbert’s comment indicates that boys’ names were linked to an ancestor or to the role of the father that the boy should assume later in life. The name Gugulethu, then, means that the parents are happy because the family is boasting about him. This name also presupposes the expectations of the parents from the young boy. For example, from Gugulethu they would expect a number of achievements that would bring more excitement and happiness into the family. That is confirmed by ZwiLakhe as follows:

Niyabona nto zakuthi ngunyana wam lo. Lo mntwana wathi mhla wavela ndamthiya igama ndathi nguGugulethu, ugugu lethu thina MaHlubi.

(Fellow brothers, this is my son. This child from the day he was born, I gave him name and and he is the pride of ours Hlubi.)

(Tamsanqa 1987:34)

From the above statement it is evident that each name given to an individual has its own prediction like that of Gugulethu as his father ZwiLakhe mentions to his fellow brothers. John Stuart Mills’s (1806 – 1873) observation (in Nuessel, 1992:1) that: “... proper names are not connotative; they denote the individuals” is very important for us. Nuessel (Ibid:7) further quotes Nicolaisen (1978:40) who observed that “... words connote and names denote.” The fact that names denote suggests that they signify or symbolise something. Some names, as the following discussion will show, signify feminine.

Thobeka’s name indicates the epitome of submissiveness. She epitomises the

type of all the women who have resigned themselves to explicit subordination to parental control. The name Thobeka means “**Ukuthobeka** (Humble)”. She finds herself in an awkward position where she gets married to a man who never loves her because of her submissiveness to her parents. Thobeka could not save herself from the embarrassment of marrying a man who never proposed love to her, but she falls in the category of those youth who believe in maintaining respect towards old people.

One would concur with Odetola (1983:4) when he says that “... in most African societies the personality of an individual is significantly interwoven with cultural factors ... the naming and presentation of a baby after birth is often culturally prescribed.”

In **Buzani Kubawo** Thobeka represents the traditional, loyal youth who still respect traditional society as well as traditional custom. She is also acting according to her name which means “Humble”.

Kowu! Bandenza abazali bam ngokuhlala bahlale bandizise kwisilingo esinjengesi ndikuso ndibaxeleda.

(Oh! My parents have done a bad thing of putting me in these problems and I told them.) (Tamsanqa 1987:84)

Thobeka remains too submissive. There is nothing she attempts on her own to try to convince her parents about her feelings. Like in the case of NomaMpondomise who stands up and drives out the **lobola** of M��unukelwa whom she does not like and does not wish to marry. Maybe the reason could be that the writer wants to depict the fact that men control women’s lives. Thobeka is deserted by her husband Gugulethu, but she cannot move out of the frustrating situation on her own, until her father-in-law Zwiłakhe instructs her to go to her husband Gugulethu in Umtata.

3.3.5 Naming in uDike noCikizwa

One character name will be analysed here. The name Cikizwa which is from “**ukucikizwa**” and means “Beautiful”. This name highlights the nature of the play. Cikizwa is forced by her father, Sando, to marry a man she does not love,

a man she is not even familiar with.. Markey in Nuessel (1992:1) stated that: "... it is generally accepted by philosophers and logisticians that, while names have reference they lack sense." In essence this claim means that a proper name is an abbreviation of a physical description of a certain individual because most names are descriptive of a particular part of the body, like in the case of Cikizwa who has a beautiful facial structure. This approach to proper names is philosophical in nature for it states that every proper name is a description of specific properties.

The meaning of her name is linked up to her psychological nature as well as her physical appearance. The writer has used the direct method in depicting Cikizwa. It is evident from his naming that Cikizwa is a beautiful girl. The name also illustrates that Cikizwa's facial appearance is beautiful.

3.3.6 Naming in Inene Nasi Isibhozo

In **Inene Nasi Isibhozo**, the name Themba is from "**ithemba**" meaning the "Hope" of his parents or it could be the expectations of his family members that he would develop his father's family as a boy. Maybe after he was born his parents or family members pinned their hopes to him as the eldest son of their family, that one day he could rescue the family and bring happiness to them.

The name Vuma is from "**ukuvuma**" which means "Accept everything that a person assigns to you to execute without even questioning it or using your own intelligence." This name illustrates the kind of character Vuma is. Vuma is a character who accepts everything without evaluating it.

Vuma mphindezele unyoko, hamba uye kohlwaya abaya bafazi,
ndisuke andamthemba lo mntwana kum ngathi akazi kuyenza le nto.

(Vuma revenge for your mother, go and punish these women. I do not trust this child, he looks as if he is not going to do this.)

(Mtingane 1992:6)

From the above statement Vuma is perceived as the weak character who is easily persuaded. Vuma never asks any questions of the women who tell him to take revenge for his mother. He takes his fighting sticks and goes to revenge his mother. When he arrives his father's brother convinces him not to carry out his plan, which indicates that Vuma is a character who is easily persuaded and who agrees with everything anyone says to him.

3.4 RESISTANCE AGAINST CULTURAL SET-UP

In this section an attempt is made to trace the originality of personality traits, behaviour, conflict and other related psychoanalytical reactions of the characters. The point of departure here is that literary characters are perceived and treated as if they are real human beings who are caught up in real life situations. It has been observed in the case of arranged marriage discussed here, that these cultures have caused immeasurable conflict between parents and their children and that forced marriage leaves young people with painful emotional psychological experiences. We concur with Ernst Kris who is quoted by Arlow (in Corsini and Wedding:1989:19) when he says: "Psychoanalysis may be defined as human nature seen from vantage point of conflict." Psychoanalysis views the mind as the expression of conflicting forces. This literary theory, then, lends itself as a capable weapon of research in the conflict that one encounters in the selected literary texts.

In most cultural contexts, male and female behaviour patterns are determined by social norms and values of their society. According to psychoanalysis these are represented by the superego. Since the superego implies the existence of a moral fibre, it is therefore directly linked to the norms and values of society. The superego consists of the inculcated parental and social injunctions. Anyone trying to break the rules can expect to meet with serious problems in a community in which the ruling group produces images and conceptions of the others to legitimise the status quo. This emphasises the connection between people and their social environment, underlining the reciprocity between the environment and personality. Personal and environmental factors do not function as independent determinants; rather, they determine each other.

Odetola (1983:4) concurs that in most African societies the personality of an individual is significantly interwoven with cultural factors. The social environment provides the only source of socialisation for the child. Between the age of about five to eight, the process of socialisation begins in full force. The distinction between the sexes also becomes noticeable from the point of view of differential roles. The environment is also significant in the development of the personalities of these young people, through the transmission of the society's norms and values and the acquisition of acceptable patterns of behaviour, especially leadership qualities, attitudes towards elders and authority, and communal norms. Odetola (Ibid:7) emphasises the role played by the family in the socialisation process of the child in the following passage:

It should be noted that human personality derives from the emotional responses of significant others, such as parents and other members of the family, to the child, especially through the process of socialisation. It is through this process that the child acquires a self-image by interacting with others. The attitudes that create the self-image are those of approval and disapproval, acceptance or rejection, interest or indifference demonstrated by those with whom the child interacts. In Africa the extended family has a significant role in the development of the self-image of an individual.

The young people in almost all the drama books, are driven by the id to reach for their sexual desires and the parents, backed by the strong cultural make-up of values and norms, present cultural constraints to control their children's wishes. This then implies a clash between the id and the superego. The superego imposes the moral values that each person learns during the socialisation process, and its main function is to suppress the drive of the id.

Today youth affected by these socio-cultures find themselves in-between because they have to deal with the ego that directs the id and the superego in order to deal with the outside world. The cultural practices of arranged marriages reflect the contradictions and internal conflicts that are prevalent in humans as social beings. The traditional pressure by parents on their children

evokes conflict as well as protect actions that lead to the violation of norms by the young people in AmaXhosa society. According to Freud's theory the human mind is the expression of conflicting forces, and some of these forces are conscious while others are unconscious. Parents too, in the protection of their ego, enforce harsh laws upon their children and by so doing also violate the very same norms and values they want their children to uphold. The parents and their children are depicted in a day-to-day conflict which is not only between individuals, but also between a person and the environmental circumstances of the plays, and it is this environment that seeks to determine their fate. In this case it seems as if it is the external conflict that stimulates the internal conflict which is experienced by the characters.

3.4.1 Violation of cultural set-up in Buzani Kubawo

The authority that fathers exert on their children results in violent behaviour and destruction of norms and values of the society. It is not only parental authority that is violated but also the whole socio-cultural make-up of the society. The source of conflict between Gugulethu and his father (Zwilakhe) is the latter's arrangement of marriage with the lady who is not his choice. Gugulethu finds himself in a difficult situation because he wants to control and suppress his freedom of choice. He reveals this pain through his general behaviour of saying to whom people should ask about this marriage, "**Buzani Kubawo**", Ask Father. This statement indicates that it is his father who has arranged this marriage and not himself. On the other hand, Zwilakhe believes that he is doing the right thing which is related to his socio-cultural practices. He even utters the following words in a meeting session of AmaHlubi Clan:

Ukuba wenza njalo ke Hlubi walaphula mpela isiko lalo mzi. Mna ke andiyingene mpela loo nto. Ubona nje ekhaya apha ndinomfazi; lo mfazi ndinaye andizange ndizibonele ndabonelwa ngubawo edibene nobawokazi. Zazikho intombi zizidlele zibomvu, kunjalo zimbetha lo mfazi wam ngobuhle ndizithanda ngaphezulu kwakhe, kodwa kuloo nto yonke ndaLulamela isiko ndeva abazali.

(If you did that Hlubi you had totally broke the custom of this family. I'm not accepting that at all. As you see, here at home, I have a wife that I have never chosen. My father and his fellow brothers chose her for me. There were beautiful ladies with red beautiful faces, and even more beautiful than my wife, and I loved them more than her. But in everything I respected the custom of my parents.)

(Tamsanqa 1987:33)

Zwilakhe wants to stick to his culture of arranged marriage for his son irrespective of complaints from his family male members who are embraced by acculturation. He is adamant that he will never throw away that culture which was inculcated by his parents. He does not accept the opinion of his fellow brothers.

Gugulethu replies to what his father says:

Noko ke bawo andaphuli siko. Ndincede Mthimkhulu,
ndincede Ndlebentle, ndincede Mashwabada ndiyeke
ndithathe intombi ethandwa ndim.

(But then, father, I'm not flouting any custom. Please
bear with me Mthimkhulu, bear with me Ndlebentle,
bear with me Mashwabada, let me marry the girl of my choice.)

(Tamsanqa 1987:32)

In the above excerpt Gugulethu pleads with his father to allow him to marry the girl of his choice, but his father refuses his request. This kind of cultural practice prompts a new negative attitude towards Gugulethu's social life. He seems to be one of those in life who suffer psychologically. He rather adopts a passive resistance against his father's actions of arranged marriage. This kind of behaviour creates an internal conflict; instead of taking a positive step, Gugulethu recoils into his shell when he says:

Kuyo yonke into efuna mna kulo mcimbi, mna andinalizwi, ithi
impendula yam, "**Buzani Kubawo.**"

(In whatever requires me in this matter, I've no word to say, my answer is "Ask father".)

(Tamsanqa 1987:37)

From this time on the term "**Buzani Kubawo**" is uttered by Gugulethu. He is not helpful with his family, he is now violating the norms of his society by not listening to his parents. He adopts a negative attitude towards his father's actions.. When Thobeka arrives at Umtata with her illegitimate children, Gugulethu murders them. He is brought before the Court of Law and is sentenced to death. After listening to all the facts the Judge says about this break of norms and values of the society by Gugulethu:

Nkundla ebekekileyo! Ewe uGugulethu ulenzile isikizi, kodwa kuko konke akwenzileyo icacile mhlophe nasesidengeni into yokuba oyena nobangela wabo bonke ubukho bethu apha nguyise walo mfana.

(Honourable members of the Court. It is true Gugulethu has committed an abominable act, but despite all that he has done, it is clear even to a stupid person that the very reason for the presence of everyone here is the father of this young man.)

(Tamsanqa 1987:97)

It is evident from the above extract that Gugulethu's decision to murder Thobeka and her children is motivated by socio-cultural problems which forced him to marry a girl who was not of his choice. He remains determined to listen to his id and the superego by doing exactly what his society is against. It is true that in traditional homes children have no say even in matters that concern their lives.

NomaMpondomise also violates the norms of her society by not obeying her parents, which is a disgrace to her family.

Ndithi ndiyazikhupha ezikomo zilapha ebuhlanti, andiphambananga xa ndisitsho ndiphile qete.

(I'm saying, I am driving out these cattle which are in this kraal. I'm not mad when I say this, I'm quite well.)

(Tamsanqa 1987:48)

NomaMpondomise is not obeying her parents with regard to the marriage they have arranged. This is a great disgrace in AmaXhosa society. She is not only humiliating her family but the community at large.

3.4.2 Violation of cultural stereotypes in UDike noCikizwa

Cikiswa protests against her forced arranged marriage by her father. Sandu wants Mjongwa to marry his daughter Cikizwa. Sandu believes that if he favours Mjongwa, his daughter should love him too. Cikizwa does not want to consider her father's arranged marriage. She wants to pursue her ideal of love with Dike. Self-choice plays the most important role in her life. If she considers the issue of marriage, it probably will not be with the man chosen by her father.

Tata, ndiya kuba ndiyona xa nditshata nalo mfana ndingamthandi.

(Father, I am doing wrong to marry this man that I do not love)

(Mmango 1983:72)

Cikizwa has taken a stance against her father's decision of arranged marriage. She says:

Kungcono ukukhoboka phantsi kwedyokhwe
yembandezelo kunokuphumla emthunzini wesono,
kuba ndiya kuba ndiyona xa ndifunga ndixoka.

(I better be ageing under the yoke of pains, rather
than resting under the shadow of sin. Because I will
be sinning to take Oath of a lie.)

(Mmango 1983:72)

Cikizwa refuses to take an oath in the church. By doing this she is defying and violating her father's authority when she refuses to sign the marriage oath. According to the marriage law, if she does not sign the marriage certificate then the minister cannot continue with the marriage. As the minister says:

Inkonzo ayinakuqhubeka phantsi kwale meko. Khanhambe niye kuthethana nabantwana bevane.

(This service cannot go further under this situation. Could you go and talk to the children to reach an agreement.)

(Mmango 1983:72)

The above statement proves that Cikizwa has violated her father in front of the entire village community. Cikizwa's defiance of her father's instructions stems from the fact that the culture of respect is not reciprocal in this drama book. It is only one sided. It is encouraged that children should show respect to the adults, but it should also be borne in mind that respect can have erosive and adverse effects if it is one-sided, or if it is used as a means to oppress children or to make them submissive to situations that affect them. It is expected that, as a child, Cikizwa should pay respect to her father's instruction. Respect is used negatively as a means of oppression in this play and it evokes a negative and violent response from Cikizwa. Respect is used under the guise of culture, rule and custom to force Cikizwa to marry a man she does not love.

Respect takes various forms. It can be oral, behavioural and physical. The pressure that Cikizwa endures from her father makes her defy all forms of respect for him. The pressure is stored in Cikizwa's unconscious mind and comes out in the form of a slip of her tongue as it is quoted in the above statements. The unconscious, according to Freud (1986:71), is that part of the brain which is not controlled by an individual. This is the domain of the psyche that encompasses the repressed id functions, the primitive impulse and desires, the memories, images and wishes that are too anxiety-provoking to be accepted into consciousness (Reber, 1985: 799). Freud mentions three ways in which one can know about the existence of the unconscious. It is represented through dreams, paradoxes, slips of the tongue and free associations which take the form of jokes.

Cikizwa's lack of respect is directly linked to her father's unreasonable actions, which seem to undermine her as a person who has a right to choose her own husband.

The situation is such that there is nothing that will prohibit Cikizwa from proceeding with her love for Dike. As Freud (1986:107) puts it, "the id knows no judgement of value or morality". The id is a dark, inaccessible portion of personality and if allowed to take too much control, it could lead a human being to destruction. It is a biological instinct that includes sexual and aggressive impulses at birth and it represents the total personality. It is evident from the above passage that the central point of conflict between Cikizwa and her father, Sando, is arranged marriage. Compromise seems difficult between the two parts – Cikizwa and her father – and this takes the conflict further in the play. Conflict normally affects the behavioural patterns of individuals and it usually leads to further reactions on the part of the characters which can be analysed psychoanalytically. Cikizwa is deeply hurt by her father's action of arranged marriage for her.

Cikizwa's defiance of her father's authority causes her to suffer severe neurotic problems. Psycho-neurosis is an organic dysfunction that is normally related to the transgressing of distressing and painful feelings that one experiences. Reber (1985:471) stresses that psychoneurosis indicates a causal role played by unconscious conflicts which evoke anxiety and lead to the use of defence mechanisms that ultimately produce the observed symptom. The constant headache that Cikizwa suffers after she hears that her father wants her to marry Mjongwa by force, is caused by her protest against her marriage. She pretends to be suffering from the headaches.

Ukhala ngentloko namahlaba.

(She cries with headache and stitch.)

(Mmango 1983:11)

3.4.3 Cultural Barriers of AmaXhosa in Inene Nasi Isibhozo

Mtingane deviates from the stereotypical presentation of female character as discovered by other male writers of IsiXhosa. The view stated by Jones et al, (1987:2) that "... it is not true that all male writers have been unsympathetic towards women, or have lacked the ability to represent the truly complex situation of oppressed women." Mtingane presents us with a life-like female character in **Inene Nasi Isibhozo**. Masukude becomes the heroine of the play; she believes she must fight for what she believes is right. She is the victim of her family-in-laws. Her happiness can not be fulfilled because of LoLo's presence in her house. She is striving to boot them out of her house.

Mntwanam ndikhathazwa nguyihlomncinci. Okoko kwathi kwabhubha uyihlo lo mzi uwenza owakhe. Makaphume aphele kulo mzi, uLoLo noMadlamini wakhe abananto yabo ilapha.

(My child I am worried by your father's younger brother. Since your father died LoLo treats this household as his. He must get out from this household together with her MaDlamini. They do not have anything here.) Mtingane (1992:12)

The above phrase shows the frustration of Masukude about the presence of LoLo in her household issues. According to traditional norms LoLo should be involved in Masukude's house business. But Masukude is determined to drive LoLo out of her house's affairs. She is strongly against this traditional norm. She is depicted as a rebellious woman who cannot allow LoLo to rule her house. Masukude could not accept this traditional norm of finding herself under LoLo and she is depicted as a non-conformist woman. Masukude cannot suppress her rejection of LoLo, yet she cannot cope with the conditions in which she finds herself. She makes a choice of driving LoLo out of her household affairs. She chooses her own way of running the affairs of her house, by letting Vuma, her son, get married in order to take over the affairs. Masukude's protesting against the presence of LoLo and his brother leads to frustration and bitterness to Masukude which results in destruction and a number of people die as the result of her resistance.

3.4.4 Violation of traditional norms and values in Inene Nasi Isibhozo

The rebellious behaviour of many females found in drama books written by AmaXhosa men seems to be directly linked to the family struggle for freedom. Time and again in these plays we encounter women characters who have inculcated the conflict between personal freedom and AmaXhosa's cultural values. Masukude is one of such characters. She finds herself in direct confrontation with an uncompromising cultural setting. Masukude does not show the traditional woman's image. She strongly objects to LoLo's authority. The id is in conflict with the superego. She wants to live according to her own ideas that she has chosen for herself. She rejects LoLo for his presence in her house because she believes that she has rights to rule her house. But socio-cultural life does not allow such individualistic values in marriage and the state of balance of women's social identities has been upset through the destruction that has been caused by Westernisation. Jones (1987:17) states that this means that the New Woman in Africa often wavers helplessly between her allegiance to her culture, her African identity, and her aspirations for freedom and self-fulfilment.

3.5 THE ROLE OF MAN IN TRADITIONAL SOCIETY

Aubrey (1981:42) says about the duties of the men:

In the AmaXhosa family the man was the undisputed head of his home and the master of his family. Sometimes a strong woman could emerge and dominate the family and her husband, but this was not common in AmaXhosa society. When it occurred it was usually caused as a result of a weak man with a strong-willed wife. A man was even allowed to have more than one wife and might have four wives, all with their own huts and fields to tend, but not every wife was of equal importance. This depended on the order in which they were married, usually the first wife became his chief wife. The oldest son of his chief wife is his heir, the person who took over his position when he died. Women and girls did not inherit. This son also benefited and his legacy had not only the majority of his father's cattle but also his father's responsibilities as head of the family. If the legator had no sons or his sons were still

young when he died, then his brother or close male relative takes preference over his own children and wife.

Man is responsible for performing religious activities in their families or one had to withstand during agonising moments of life. With reference to **Buzani Kubawo**, Zwilakhe and his brothers had the planning session of the marriage of Gugulethu as their role, because they are the males of the Hlubi clan. Planning marriage is one of man's obligations which was assigned to them by their traditions. In **Inene Nasi Isibhozo**, the brother-in-law of Masukude are obliged by the socio cultural values not to discuss the marriage of her step-son Themba and other activities of Masuduke's as well as control the livestock of her dead husband. It is not because they are more intelligent as compared to the female, but there is more insecurity and danger involved and this directly shows love and compassion for the female. Nevertheless, this is not a burdensome labour since the men learn these exercises during the stages of primary socialisation as with Sando in **uDike noCikizwa** and Zwilakhe in **Buzani Kubawo**.

3.6 AMAXHOSA'S ARRANGEMENT OF MARRIAGE

Most marriages in AmaXhosa society were arranged marriages. Those marriages were not of the heart and were not traditionally culminated by courtship. Romance came into the picture only in exceptional cases and love was not a pre-requisite to a marriage. The ceremony of 'carried off' (ukuthwala) was characterised sometimes with violence. In spite of the woman's struggling she had little hope of escaping and ended up at her husband's home. This 'carried off' ceremony usually took place at night. This traditional form of marriage was sometimes arranged with the prior permission of the girl's father (Aubrey 1981:42).

In both **Buzani Kubawo** and **uDike noCikizwa** the marriage arrangement is done by Gugulethu's father and Cikizwa's father. Gugulethu and Cikizwa's parents give permission prior to Thobeka and Cikizwa being carried off by the in-law menfolk. Thobeka in "Buzani Kubawo" discusses that with her mother; she refuses but her mother forces her to marry Gugulethu. In **uDike**

noCikizwa, Sando has made the arrangement with the son-in-law, without consulting his daughter, to marry Mjongwa.

During or before this arranged marriage, cattle, the most valuable of a man's possessions, must be given to the bride's father. This is called bride wealth or ikhazi. In uDike noCikizwa, Sando has accepted the lobola from his prospective son-in-law.

Ndiza kuphulukana neshumi elinesihlanu leenkomo, amashumi
amabini eegusha, nehashe ngenxa yesi sidenge.

(I will lose fifteen cattle, twelve sheep and one horse because of
this fool.)

(Mmango 1983:28)

The above statement proves that lobola is the most important aspect of the arranged marriages because Sando is concerned about wealth rather than the welfare of his daughter. His main objective is to get lobola.

AmaXhosa explain that this is a way of winning friendship between the two families.

Indlu yamaBhele namaNjiyela mayime.

(The house of Bhele and Njiyela must stand.)

(Mmango 1983:28)

This shows that the two families should come together and build a friendship,. This illustrates that marriage is not only based on wealth only, it is also based on winning relationships.

Aubrey (1981:49) says the following about the bride who escapes from her marriage:

If the girl refused and decided to chase the lobola from her father's kraal then her lover must parley with him over lobola. He must be able to better that paid by the first man and so satisfy her father and mother of his goodwill, then it will conform with tribal custom for the parents

to agree to his bid. In such case, the first man has to be given cattle he has already delivered.

3.7 STATUS OF WOMEN IN A TRADITIONAL SOCIETY

Aubrey's (1981:50) views about the position of women in AmaXhosa's traditional society are as follows:

The perception about women in AmaXhosa society is of inferiority, although they work hard for their families. One thing that AmaXhosa women did not perform is the religious customs of their family. Although a married woman is regarded as an adult, she did not obtain adult status through her marriage. She was regarded as a perpetual legal minor, initially under the authority of her father, after her marriage under the authority of her husband and after her husband's death under the authority of the most senior member of her husband's family as in the case of **Inene Nasi Isibhozo** Masukude is under the authority of her brother-in-laws because her husband died. This means, among other things, that a woman may not institute proceedings and that she must be represented by her father or her husband or one of her husband's male relatives during any traditional family meeting.

As in the case of **Inene Nasi Isibhozo** Masukude is under the authority of her brother-in-laws because her husband passed away. She could not even be present to discuss things that affected her household. In **Buzani Kabawo** MaGaba is excluded from the meetings which are arranging the marriage for her son.

Hlonipha is another form of socio-cultural oppression of certain groups of AmaXhosa community, particularly women. Aubrey (1981) says hlonipha is the use of substitute words in the place of other everyday words which is used by married women to respect her household. The basic idea of this socio-cultural custom is to show respect and subservience and it is the same custom which is used by a bride to show respect to her father-in-law. In the case of the abakwetha, it is not so clearly defined, however, as to who in society is being shown respect, although they do have to show special regard for married

women. It seems that one of the main reasons for them carrying out the practice is that they have to admit their own 'littleness'.

3.8 FAMILY LAW

The nuclear family is the smallest unit within the tribe in which authority was exercised. Among the AmaXhosa the authority within the family lies with the father and he is treated with respect and is obeyed by his wife and children. Within the extended family the rank and status of wives is determined by the order in which they were married. The wife who was married first has the highest rank and the most status and has to be duly respected by the other wives. The rank and status of children within the extended family is determined by the rank and status of their mothers. Rank and status together with sex and age determines the mutual relationships between brothers and sisters. Aubrey (1991:2) agrees with this kind of family arrangement.

Family law among the Xhosas has a communal, concrete and ceremonial character. Marriage is a process whereby two family groups are drawn closer together and this is concretely and ceremonially conformed through the delivery of marriage goods and the performance of various rituals. On the one hand it involves a number of traditional rules that belong to socio-cultural value and, on the other hand, it involves certain obligations that are legally enforceable. Among other traditional rules related to adult status is the choice of a marriage partner and the behaviour of the new bride towards her husband's family.

The enforceable traditional rule of arranged marriage on the other hand includes the consent of the father of the bride and the groom, the marriage agreement would take place and be handed over by the women to the man's family. The death of one of the marriage partners did not end the relationship between the family groups. Divorce took place only through the cancellation of the marriage agreement by the family of the defendant who were present at the marriage negotiations. Grounds for divorce include adultery or the practice of sorcery by the woman.

3.9 DIVISION OF LABOUR AND ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

The women gather wood for the fires, carry water from the rivers, cook, sew and girls are the nurse maids. The girls are expected to help their mothers in whatever else they can around the home. Both wives and daughters have to obey the head of the family in all that he tells them or suffer the possible penalty of being punished if they upset him. The fathers and their sons are the keepers of the cattle and other livestock as the wealth of the family. Men are generally kind, compassionate and hospitable but relatively do little as compared with women who are the real work horses. Males also build houses, cultivate fields, chop wood, make cattle kraals, etc.

Although climatic and environmental conditions play an important role in the production of food among the AmaXhosa tribe, the nature of their economic activities is determined largely by tradition. With the exception of tribal chiefs and certain skilled individuals, the standard of living of all the members of the tribe is more or less the same, the same methods of food production are used and every one has the same type of housing, clothing and household articles. Usually just enough food is produced for the year, so that there is not much surplus production or bartering.

The economic life of the people and their social structure and organisation are very closely related. The extended family operates as a self-sufficient production and consumer unit and the differentiation between the sexes forms the basis of division of labour. Certain economic activities are performed exclusively by men (amadoda) and others exclusively by women (amabhinqa). Relatives are morally obliged to help and take care of one another and as a person's economic position improves, his obligation towards his relatives increases accordingly. Because each extended family forms a self-sufficient economic unit, there is little job specialization or bartering.

In former times a Xhosa man was a warrior, the stock owner and the hunter. Young boys initially herded goats (ibhokhwe) near the settlement and as they grew older they had to take care of and milk the cows (imazi zenkomo).

Women were not allowed to come into contact with the cattle, they were in fact not allowed near the cattle or into the cattle kraal, but they did tend the pigs and poultry in the settlement as their economic activities. AmaXhosa believed that ancestors live in the kraal; therefore married women should respect the kraal.

In the AmaXhosa tribe cattle have a religious value, as sacrificial animals (*ukwenza amadini*) and a social value as marriage goods (*ikhazi*) rather than of quality. Goats are also used for not only economic purposes but also for sacrificial activities as in (*imbeleko*). Sheep rather than cattle and goats are used for food. Owing to climatic conditions and the fact that there are no cooling facilities, cattle are generally slaughtered only during large feasts (*ukukhapha*) where all the meat is used.

Goat's milk is drunk only by boys, while cow's milk is seldom used in its form. It is usually left in a calabash (*iselwa*) until the curds and whey have separated. They are then used in (*umvubo*).

AmaXhosa's tribal boys make sure that they look after the stock to ensure that they do not damage the fields and go to the best grazing fields and water. No fodder is ever planted, but during the winter months the animals are allowed to graze in the harvested fields. Bulls are selected with great care and animals with poor features are castrated. One or two bulls with exceptional characteristics are kept in each herd and the young cowherds often sharpen the bulls horns and provok them to fight.

Aubrey (1981:104) says about the socio-cultural activities of AmaXhosa:

Agricultural activities and gathering *plants* (*imifuno*) from the veld are the main ways in which AmaXhosa obtain their food. The arable land around the settlements is tribal property held in trust by the tribal chief and on his authority this land is made available by the ward headmen to the head of each family for the use by that family. Although there was no question of private ownership of land, every married women is entitled to an arable field (*isitiva*) where she is responsible only for the

initial clearing of the land where the field is to be made, while the children (*abantwana*) mainly had to see that birds did not damage the crops. The only agricultural activity carried out by the men is ploughing of the land.

During periods of large-scale agricultural activities such as the harvesting of grain crops, the work is sometimes carried out on a co-operative basis. In such cases a woman would organize a working party (*ilima*). This is a festive occasion to which she would invite all her neighbours and relatives to come and help. As the hostess, she provided them with beer and food and she worked with them. The normal procedure is for the working party to do the rounds of all the fields in the area, so that each woman has an opportunity to act as hostess. This AmaXhosa social interaction is often just as important as the work that is done.

3.10 BELIEF IN WITCHCRAFT AMONG AMAXHOSA SOCIETY

3.10.1 The cause of conflict unknown among AmaXhosa society

AmaXhosa community based their belief of the supernatural on witchcraft and the ancestral cult. Baffled by the causes of death, disease, failure and misfortune, the AmaXhosa tribe regarded witchcraft as the cause of evils. This in socio-culture provided an explanation for most of evils that befall man. Witchcraft was a phobia among the AmaXhosa tribe and the intensity of their socio-cultural belief and conviction led to series of tragedies. In the Xhosa society witches were tortured and destroyed. AmaXhosa hatred ensured discovering of witches and the most terrible modes of torture were used to extract confessions. AmaXhosa believe that witches work together with Satan. The witches were blamed for the death of their neighbour or causing blights and procuring impotence of bridegrooms.

Many illnesses, particularly terrifying dreams in which the victim was being strangled, were diagnosed as an attack by uThikoloshe. Invariably the attack was attributed to an enemy, a witch who had sent her uThikoloshe to throttle and kill. These tragedies are caused by socio-cultural beliefs of AmaXhosa.

In **Umkhonto kaTshiwo** the girl of the king had a terrible dream and she told her father about her dream. This was associated with witchcraft which was caused by women who lived in the same area. Many people were killed because of the dream of this girl who believed that she was suffering illness because of these women who cause sickness through the practice of witchcraft.

Gqwirhandini namhla uza kundazi!

(Witch today you will know me!)

(Ngani 1993:10)

The statement above indicates that the AmaXhosa community always believed witchcraft was the cause of sickness and this led to innocent people being killed without substantial evidence of involvement in the practice of witchcraft. The people, especially women, who were accused of witchcraft, were executed.

If a witchdoctor diagnosed an illness as being due to witchcraft, he also pointed out who was responsible for such sickness, and the people took measures to force a confession and even expel the spirit. A witchdoctor was regarded as a priest and a healer who, among other things, divines, exposes and eradicates witches. AmaXhosa tribe believed that he had the exceptional power of speaking directly to the ancestral spirits, conveying their messages and insisting on rites to honour, placate or exorcize evil.

3.11 CONCLUSION

I strongly believe that the socio-cultural problem of AmaXhosa was always caused by culture values. The power sharing of the AmaXhosa tribe indicates that Africans are governed by a set of norms and values of their particular culture. Their behaviour and their activities are determined by the influence of their tradition.

In **Buzani Kubawo**, Zwilakhe is the remaining reservoir of the AmaXhosa culture; he serves as one of the prominent traditionalist who inform the growing generation about the Hlubi traditional principles. Despite the fact that his brothers were aware

of their cultural rules, he was very firm to his culture and did not accept the dynamics of this tradition.

AmaXhosa were very fair towards children and women folk but the authority of a man as the head of the family was sometimes destructive towards his family members. The father would arrange marriage of his son or daughter but because of his cultural authority no one was allowed to question his actions. In **Buzani Kubawo**, Zwi lakhe arranged marriage for his son Gugulethu, and used his powers as the head of the homestead. His ideas were final.

In **Inene Nasi Isibhozo**, Masukude was dominated by his in-laws' members of the family. She was forced by culture to listen to them. She could not even arrange marriage for her son because she is a woman and only men can arrange marriages. This kind of authority culminated in tragedy.

In **uDike noCikizwa Sando**, Cikizwa's father also acted as the proponent of AmaXhosa's traditional culture. He believed that it was right to arrange marriage for his daughter. This cultural belief led to tragedy.

CHAPTER 4

THE VIOLATION OF CHILDREN AND WOMEN'S RIGHTS IN AMAXHOSA SOCIETY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Feminists have turned their attention to gender studies, arguing that feminist and womanist literary critics should, with considerable caution, consider questions of masculinity and be willing to focus on male texts, not as documents of sexism and misogyny, but as inscriptions of gender and renditions of sexual difference (Rabinowitz, and Richlin, 1993:75-76.)

This chapter deals with the status of women in AmaXhosa socio-cultural set-up. It extensively examines the presentation of individuals, both male and female, in terms of gender role and stereotyping in AmaXhosa Society. Two issues of paramount importance are: firstly, the matter of a Masculine literary history is looked at through the examination and the tracing of the logic of phallogentrism in these selected IsiXhosa texts. Secondly, the analysis takes the form of a close reading of AmaXhosa socio-cultural and literary works of art. The main objective is to find the cause of conflict by reading between the lines for states of mind that cannot be voiced in the socio-cultural set-up.

4.2 THE VOICE OF WOMEN IN AMAXHOSA SOCIETY

'When society does not grant women the power to make choices, women must summon courage to claim that right for themselves.'

Deirdre Lapin in Hay and Stichter (1995:159)

This chapter focuses on the voice of subjugated groups, particularly women and children in AmaXhosa traditional society. It concentrates on the role played by women and children during the arrangement of their marriages. In this study the main objective is to assess how the IsiXhosa drama books present arranged marriages and the children's power with regard to the decision making process about their marriages. The emphasis is on how the behaviour of characters

reveals gender socio-inequality and gender roles. The final section analyses the behavioural patterns of the characters who are affected by these socio-cultures. It concentrates on the effects of the traditional pressure on the psychological state of the characters and shows how this unhealthy psychological state in turn influences both the victims and the prominent perpetrators of the cultural norms and values of AmaXhosa society.

“Gender” has been explained in Chapter 1 as a term that takes into account the close relationships between male and female, while the concept “stereotype” refers to the psychological sexual imprints that are widespread in AmaXhosa society. The concept of stereotype also refers to the social division of labour between male and female. Nkumane (1999) seems to concur with Ruth (1980:18) when she says that a stereotype is:

A concept related to role, yet distinct. Defined by one author as a picture in our heads”, stereotype is a composite image of traits and expectations pertaining to some group (such as teachers, male or women) – an image that is persistent in the social mind though it is somehow off-centre or inaccurate. Typically, the stereotype our generalisation of characteristics that may or may not have been observed in fact. Often containing a kernel of truth that is partial and thus misleading, the stereotype need not be self-consistent, and it has a remarkable resistance to change by new information.

Ruth conveys the message that socio-cultural obstacles are created by the socio-cultural make-up. They emerge from the way society perceives its way of living. The stereotype is associated with the tasks that men and women are expected to execute in their cultural life as different sexes. These socio-cultural tasks are expectations that society attaches to a particular sex. These socio-cultural stereotypes become ingrained images in society’s mind set and as time goes on become very difficult to change.

In order to be able to achieve his main objective of exposing the social problems experienced in AmaXhosa society, the writer creates imaginary characters who project the culture of a certain society as a whole. The writers always shape their

characters to serve a specific purpose in a work of drama, and this is in line with the stereotypes that students of literature come across in a particular literary text. Characters in turn are the means through which the writer communicates his cultural experiences and traditions - like ZwiLakhe and Sando as prominent culturalists who do not want to throw away their culture. This kind of belief makes them stereotypes – people who cannot see the changes of society.

Mtuzi, 1994:7) say, about characters:

‘Character studies in literature often depict the way people perceive their culture from time to time and as such, writers form images in response to their culture. They draw their material from the social history and as such their works reflect the social conditions prevailing in their times.’

Since literature stems from the problems experienced by a particular society, it is clear that it expresses a dual philosophy of socio-cultural life; that of the author as well as that of society. From the above statement one can deduce that any work of literature projects the socio-cultural context from which the author writes about. In Tamsanqa’s **Buzani Kubawo**, (1987) – this is a play whose theme is the conflict of cultures. The staunch supporter of traditions finds himself in an alien environment; as a result he strikes a compromise by blaming himself for his stereotype and firmness in cultural practices. This occurs in the court proceedings where Gugulethu is found guilty of killing his wife, Thobeka.

4.2.1 **Buzani Kubawo (Tamsanqa)**

The main character with cultural conflict in Tamsanqa’s drama is ZwiLakhe. This play tells about the arranged marriage between Gugulethu and Thobeka. Gugulethu is the son of ZwiLakhe and MaGaba. Both are very attached to their cultural norms and values. Gugulethu is more enlightened than his counterpart Thobeka. ZwiLakhe’s authoritative and aggressive nature could be ascribed to the fact that he does not listen to his family members and his son. In his cultural background males have to dominate the family matters.

The conflict between Gugulethu and his father develops after his parents arranged marriage for him. MaGaba, Gugulethu's mother, is very interested in having Thobeka to be her daughter-in-law. She does not see any possibility of influencing her son to marry Thobeka unless she can influence her husband to force his son and family male members to comply with his decision about an arranged marriage. Gugulethu does not accept this arranged marriage, because he has the girl of his dreams, NomaMpondomise. But all his attempts to marry her fail due to his father's upholding of the cultural norm of arranging marriages for their children.

Zwilakhe believes that it is his right as Gugulethu's father to arrange marriage for him as his son. On the other hand, Thobeka is forced to marry Gugulethu by her parents regardless of the fact that she does not want to marry this man. At last the marriage progresses and Gugulethu is married to her and she becomes his wife.

NomaMpondomise, who is the girlfriend of Gugulethu, has to marry another man who is not her choice and this leads her to act in a way that disgraces AmaXhosa society – she drives out her *ikhazi* from her father's kraal in the belief that Gugulethu, in return, will fill her father's kraal again. But to her surprise she hears that Gugulethu is married to another woman. Then NomaMpondomise decided to commit suicide. The story ends tragically. MaGaba dies, Thobeka and her children are murdered by Gugulethu, and Gugulethu receives the death sentence. Zwilakhe blames himself for the disaster.

In this drama book Zwilakhe serves as a main character who is culturally conservative. He listens to his wife that he persuade his family male members to support her wish to see her son, Gugulethu, marry Thobeka Mcothama of the same village. MaGaba starts to manipulate her daughter Nozipho by saying:

Ukuba bekukho soka ndizalana nalo bendingeze ndalikhombisa
yimbi ingeyiyo ekaMcothama, uThobeka. Ubufanele
ubufazi umntwan'womntu!

(If there was a bachelor to whom I'm related I would definitely recommend no other girl except Mcothama's daughter Thobeka. That man's child possesses all the qualities needed for womanhood.)

(Tamsanqa 1987:2-5)

The above statement shows that MaGaba is influenced by the social culture of her society. She is also aware of her minimal role in terms of traditional norms in AmaXhosa society. She is wise to the fact that the final decisions in traditional society are pronounced by the head of the house, in this case Zwi lakhe. This explains why initially she says to Nozipho regarding the arranged marriage matter:

Kanti nangoku ukuba bekuthetha mna bekungekho ntombi yimbi,
ibiya kuthathwa ngu Gugulethu ngaphandle koThobeka.

(Even now if I had a say on this matter, no other girl would be married by Gugulethu except Thobeka.)

(Tamsanqa 1987:2-5)

In the above phrase MaGaba reveals in words her awareness of the cultural restriction of her powers. She utters these words for a second time. This reveals her persistent wish and also intimates that she has a resilient spirit. One could expect her to manipulate her husband Zwi lakhe regarding the choice of her son's marriage partner.

MaGaba, as a traditionalist, still believes in traditional cultural norms. Her complaint indicates the internal conflict about cultural changes. She belongs to the old order. Her concern is children who do not listen to their parents, unlike the children of her generation who obeyed their parent's decisions.

Yaphela laa nto yakudala ebethi umfana abonelwe ngabazali umfazi, eve yena selexelelwa intombi emakayizeke.

(Gone is that old practice when the parents used to choose the girl they liked for their son and he had to oblige and marry that girl.)

(Tamsanqa 1987:2-5)

MaGaba, in her conversation with her daughter Nozipho, indicates a concern about the youth who lost their cultural background.

Oonyana neentombi zabantu ngezi mini bayabhutyuza
Abakwazi abakwenzayo ngenxa yokuba kaloku kubanjwe
amasiko asezintlangeni, kwalahlwa awasekhaya. Kanti
ke ngoko, zazingekho ezi zinto zenzeka ngale mihla.
Laa manyondololo okuqhawulwa kwemitshato; okungevani
konyana noyise; okungevani komolokazana noninazala
zazingekho, kuba kaloku umtshato ubuyinto ezukileyo,
usikelelekile, kuba indlu isekwe ngabazali ooThixo bomzi.

(The people's sons and daughters of these days are muddled up, they do not know what they are doing because foreign customs are being practised and our own have been discarded and yet at that time, these things that happen these days were not there. These evil practices of divorce; this animosity between father and son; this animosity between daughter-in-law and mother-in-law never existed before, because marriage was something sacred, blessed because the home was established by the parents, the Gods of the family.)

(Tamsanqa 1987:12-5-6.)

MaGaba is against the emergence of the new order which she believes is destroying the most important cultural aspects of amaXhosa. She expresses her bitterness at the fact that these things were not there during the olden days, it is only in these modern times; she condemns the descending order of cultural importance and depicts the perishing of values. MaGaba refers to the balanced order that prevailed in the past and also to the blessings it received from the deity.

Tamsanqa continues to employ the cultural technique in a conversation between MaGaba and Zwi lakhe with regard to the arranged marriage of their son, Gugulethu:

Magaba:

Khawutsho ke uza kumbonela intombi nokuba uza kuzibonela?

(Tell me, are you going to choose a girl for him or is he going to choose one for himself?)

Zwilakhe:

Andazi, ubusithini wena?

(I do not know, what do you say?)

Magaba:

Wathi akwazi, ndiyintoni mna emcimbini?

(How can you say you do not know, what am I in this matter?)

Zwilakhe:

Wathi uyintoni emcimbini? Akungonina kaGugulethu?

(You ask what you are in this issue? Are you not Gugulethu's mother?)

Magaba:

Ukuba ngunina kaloku loo nto Ayithethi kuthi angabonelwa ndimfazi.

(That I am but it does not mean I should choose a wife for him.)

Hayi sendithethela kwisithuba sokuba kunokuthi kanti kukho ntombi enokuthi kanti uyithandela uGugulethu.

(No, I mean in case there is a girl you already fancy for Gugulethu.)

Eneneni ngelingabambezeliyo ikho intombi ebe ndiyithandela uGugulethu.

MaGaba:

(In reality, to cut matters short, there is a girl I fancied for Gugulethu.)

(Tamsanqa 1987:11-20)

In the above conversation between MaGaba and Zwi lakhe her husband, on the marriage issue of their son Gugulethu, MaGaba tries to keep a low profile; she employs her strategy of using her husband as her mouthpiece. She capitalises on the traditional rules which demand that a woman should assume a secondary role to her husband. She appears to be observing and upholding this traditional rule while in reality she is tentatively in control of the situation.

MaGaba has managed to influence Zwi lakhe in regard to the arranged marriage of their son. Zwi lakhe is now to serve as a conduit to carry the message of MaGaba in the family meetings. Zwi lakhe is adamant that he is not going to change his wife's idea of his son marrying Thobeka.

Mna zinkosi andikhathali nokuba umntu uchasa ade alale ngomqolo phantsi, ndifuna intombi KaMcothama ize kurhuqa amajalimani kule nkundla nokuba sekumnyama entla.

(As for me fellows I do not care even if a person objects and lie with his back on the floor, I want Mcothama's daughter to come and sweep this tribal court with 'German Prints', come what may.)

(Tamsanqa 1987:1-21)

In the above statement Zwi lakhe is delivering the idea of his wife. He is trying to implement the idea of his wife, MaGaba. This proves that Zwi lakhe is executing the views of his wife who culturally is not allowed to voice her views in marriage matters of her family-in-law.

Zwi lakhe is a man of his own words. He displays evidence of a well instructed mind when he says:

Hayi Gabakazi seku kubuza nje, yena umfana uza kuzeka intombi kaMcothama loo nto ndiza kuyimela, andikhathati nokuba umntu selesithini. Ukuba ndithe uza kuzeka intombi ethandwa ndim, uza kwenza loo nto ke.

(No Gabakazi I am merely asking, the young man is going to marry Mcothama's daughter. That I am going to stand for. I do not care what a person says. If I have said he is going to marry the girl of my choice, he is going to do exactly that.)

(Tamsanqa 1987:1-21)

In the above statement ZwiLakhe shows a lack of understanding at the changes of time. He also wants to satisfy his wife by letting his son marry Thobeka. He still belongs to the old order where the parents were responsible for choosing a wife for their sons. This phrase indicates the generation gap between the old generation and the new, whereby the new generation believe in choosing their own partners. However, ZwiLakhe is not wrong because he is acting according to his culture and he wants to maintain his tradition.

This culture of negating women from the family meeting leads to MaGaba putting more pressure on her husband, ZwiLakhe. Here ZwiLakhe becomes a messenger of his wife because of cultural issues – his wife has no legitimate right to discuss the marriage issue of her family-in-law.

Ndiyavuya ukuba unokwenjenjalo Rhadebe; ndiya themba ke ukuba akuyi kujika kwinto oyithethilego uzenze ixoki!

(I'd be glad if you would do that Rhadebe, I only hope that you won't change from what you have said, and render yourself as a liar.)

(Tamsanqa 1987:21)

MaGaba is quite aware of the socio-cultural restrictions or rule which binds women from other cultural matters. She decided to operate behind the curtain and use her husband ZwiLakhe as her mouthpiece.

ZwiLakhe calls a family meeting of his clan Rhadebe to inform them that Gugulethu is old enough to marry and that he should get a partner. When his brother, Mthetho asks ZwiLakhe whether Gugulethu has mentioned anything regarding his choice of a girl, ZwiLakhe replies by saying:

Hayi, asiyanga kuloo ndawo kwaye ke nangaphezu koko, Mna andikhange ndibe namdla wakuya kuyo kuba ndisazi ukuba into yokubona umfazi, asindawo yakhe leyo.

(No, we did not touch those grounds and besides, I didn't have any interest in talking about it, knowing fairly well that choosing a wife for himself is not his business.)

(Tamsanqa 1987:21)

Some of ZwiLakhe's family members oppose his idea of choosing a wife for Gugulethu. They rally around Gugulethu who wants to marry a girl of his own choice, NomaMpondomise.

ZwiLakhe informs his brothers that he has already chosen a girl for Gugulethu.

Intombi endiyibonele umntwana mawethu yintombi kaMcothama.

(The girl I have chosen for the young man, my brother, is Mcothama's daughter.)

Tamsanqa (1987:34)

This proves that ZwiLakhe feels he does not need advice on the issue he has already discussed with his wife, to arrange marriage for Gugulethu, and that he is just fulfilling the traditional rules.

However, Mthetho realises that Gugulethu has an internal conflict about this arranged marriage. Mthetho believes that Gugulethu should also have a word in the matter of his marriage.

Phambi kokuba siqhube mawethu ndithanda ukukhe ndazi ukuba ngaba umfana ukhe wandibana na nentombi?

(Before we proceed my fellows I would like to know whether the young man approached the girl?)

(Tamsanqa 1987:42)

Seemingly Mthetho is aware of the danger of the arranged marriage without the consent of the partners. Mthetho can see the problems that could arise if these two partners are not on good terms. Gugulethu decides to protest against his

father's arranged marriage by being unco-operative with regard to his parents preparations for the marriage.

Gugulethu does not want to disappoint his parents and he decides to allow them to continue with the arranged marriage. This issue creates in him an internal conflict. He does not answer any questions – he replies by saying, “Buzani Kubawo”. Gugulethu is against his parents' ideas of arranged marriage but he knows traditionally the father is exercising his rights. According to AmaXhosa culture Gugulethu as the child has no right to question his father's decision. This is why he replies to every question by saying “ask father”.

Zwilakhe is determined to choose a partner for his son Gugulethu, namely Thobika, a daughter of Mcothama, in the face of very strong opposition from some of his family members. The arranged marriage is a farce. At the wedding ceremony Gugulethu refuses to sign the marriage register and Zwilakhe does so on his behalf which contradicts the marriage laws. Gugulethu, after marriage, decides to leave the village and goes to Umtata where he stays alone - he has no intention of returning to Zazulwana Village. His father, Zwilakhe is compelled to keep and support his daughter-in-law Thobeka, the wife of his son, Gugulethu.

When the pressure mounts of maintaining two families becomes too much for Zwilakhe, MaGaba again influences her husband to tell Thobeka to go and join her husband with the illegitimate children in Umtata. This is unacceptable to some of his brothers. Mthetho says to Nyaniso:

Akusayiqondi wena ukuba kukho lo mfazi ngemva kwayo yonke le nto?
Akukhumbuli ukuba ukhe wayithetha lo mfazi into yokuba xa
uGugulethu angabuyiyo kufuneka umfazi wakhe eye kuye?

(Aren't you aware of the fact that this woman is behind all this. Don't you remember that she once said something to the effect that if Gugulethu doesn't come back his wife would have to join him?)

(Tamsanqa 1987:89)

Mkonto (1984:77) must have observed the facts given in the above paragraphs to make him utter these words:

“... It is MaGaba, Gugulethu’s mother, who is acting or operating behind the scenes and drives the course of events. Zwi lakhe, the husband of MaGaba serves as a middle man of the articulation of the thoughts and the ideas of MaGaba.”

He adds (1984:78):

“... the most important and operative agent in the entire story is, needless to say, MaGaba.”

Thobeka takes her illegitimate children to Umtata. It is at Umtata where they are killed by Gugulethu. He is arrested, brought before the Court of Law and is sentenced to death. In his summary the presiding judge says about this incident:

Nkundla ebekekileyo! Ewe uGugulethu ulenzile isikizi, kodwa kuko konke akwenzileyo icacile mhlophe nasesidengeni into yokuba oyena nobangela wabo bonke ubukho bethu apha nguyise walo mfana. Iyinene yaye ifanalekile impendulo endimana ukuyifumana isithi “Buzani Kubawo.”

(Honourable members of the Court. It is true Gugulethu has committed an abominable act, but despite all that he has done, it is clear even to a fool that the very reason for the presence of everyone here is the father of this young man. True and befitting is the answer I frequently receive saying “Ask father”.)

(Tamsanqa 1987:97)

Any person who is aware of the actions that led to Gugulethu committing murder will not accept the judgement pronounced to him. He will also agree with Gugulethu’s intermittent reply, “Buzani Kubawo”. Had full judicial probing been conducted, the presiding judge would have pointed a finger at Zwi lakhe and his wife, MaGaba, for this disaster. If Gugulethu had been aware of the role played by his mother, his characteristic reply would have been “Buzani Kubawo no ma”. (“Ask father and mother”) but Gugulethu is not innocent in this case because he killed Thobeka’s children, in which he acted against the law.

Zwilakhe's reply to the Judge shows that he realises that he is the cause of this problem.

Nasi ke nkosi isicelo sam. Ndiyacela ukuba njengoko indim unobangela wako konke oku makukhululwe lo mfana kuxhonywe mna endaweni yakhe.

(This, lord, is my humble request. I request that since I am responsible for all this, this young man be set free and I be hung in his place.)

(Tamsanqa 1987:103)

Some of the readers might feel that ZwiLakhe is not wholly responsible for the disaster, but that his actions were the result of him complying with the thoughts and the ideas of his culture. ZwiLakhe is not the original thinker in this story. He is dominated by his traditionalist wife who could not voice her idea publicly because of the socio-cultural set-up of AmaXhosa. He is an object in her hands.

The image created by Gugulethu is that of a respectful young man towards his parents and decides not to voice what he feels. Gugulethu is merely an instrument for his father to play on. Gugulethu had internal conflict, but could not take action against the situation at hand as an educated person could have done. Tamsanqa creates a very artistic situation whereby MaGaba operates behind the scene and her husband ZwiLakhe carries her aspirations.

Tamsanqa was aware that if MaGaba would voice her ideas publicly, that would not be accepted by her family-in-law because the culture of AmaXhosa does not accept women's involvement in such an issue. Tamsanqa also knows that if Gugulethu would confront his mother it would maybe change her stand and this would lead to a change of situation in the book.

I personally feel that Tamsanqa was right to keep Gugulethu unaware of the fact that his mother is involved and is the main instigator of the arranged marriage but it is very unfair to children to now allow them to actively participate in a matter that involves them. Children and women should have a say in all issues that affect them. In our days children and women have a voice in their families although it is still limited.

Gugulethu who has been forced by his parents to marry Thobeka Mcothama has told his friend Mzamo that he has met the girl of his own choice at Blythswood Institute where he has fallen in love with her. He proposed love to NomaMpondomise but he was rejected by her. He says to his friend Mzamo:

Hayi ke nkabi ndazama ukuzitshololo kodwa ke ntanga andizi kuxoka, wandikhaba ngawo omane!

(Then my friend I tried to propose her but my friend I am not going to tell lies she rejected and rejected me completely.)

(Tamsanqa 1987:13)

Gugulethu meets NomaMpondomise at a wedding festivities at Mgaga Ngoqo's place. He again proposes love to NomaMpondomise. Amongst other things NomaMpondomise says in her reply:

Ewe ukuba bendingekho kule ngxaki ndikuyo ngoku ngendiba ndiyakukhulula namhlanje. Kodwa ke ngenxa yokuba Ndinesizathu esikhulu andinakho ngoko ke ndikucenga ndikuleleza ndikhuphe mpela ezingcingeni zakho.

(True enough, if I were not in the trouble I'm in now, I'd be accepting your proposal today. But because of a very valid reason I have, I cannot. Therefore I am earnestly pleading with you to remove me completely from your thoughts.)

(Tamsanqa 1987:14)

In the above phrase NomaMpondomise shows a typical example of an AmaXhosa girl who indicates signs of love initially to a man, who then proposes to her.

NomaMpondomise does not reveal the fact that she is engaged to another man, because she loves Gugulethu. He is the man of her choice but because of her

cultural background, she wants to delay things and even not to tell him about her arranged marriage. Maybe she feels that if she tells him, he will leave her.

Gugulethu receives the “acceptance letter” from NomaMpondomise, and he immediately proposes marriage:

Sendisithi kuwe ngoku umnqweno wam kuwo onke amatiletile endithe ndawenza ndijikelezana nawe, ibingawokuba uze ngasekhaya sihlale sobabini ngokonwaba, sahlulwe kukufa, singahlulwa ziinduli.

(I can only say to you my only wish in all the ups and downs I’ve gone through in an attempt to secure you, were aimed at bringing you to my home, so that we can stay together in happiness, and be parted only by death, not by maintains.)

(Tamsanqa 1987:38)

Gugulethu is proposing marriage to NomaMpondomise. He is not aware of his parents plan of arranging marriage for him. He makes some promises that commits him to this girl of his choice.

NomaMpondomise accepts the marriage proposal. She tells Gugulethu for the first time about her engagement to Mgunukelwa, but she is prepared to break the engagement for Gugulethu’s sake. She proves her commitment to Gugulethu by uttering the following words:

Ndiyazikhupha ke mfo kaZilindile Ndizikhupha ngenxa yakho. Yanga loo ndawo ingahlala ithe thaa kuwe ukuba uNomaMpondomise ukuphe iinkomo ebuhlanti ngenxa yakho!

(I’m letting them out Zilindile’s son, I’m letting them out because of you. May that stay in your mind and brighten up in you that NomaMpondomise has driven out cattle from the kraal because of you.)

(Tamsanqa 1987:29)

One can deduce from NomaMpondomise's letter that she has a fear of breaking her engagement with Mcunukelwa. One should know that it was a disgrace to any girl in AmaXhosa customs to drive away *lobola* or to drive cattle out from the kraal without bringing more cattle than those that initially occupied the kraal. Both Gugulethu and NomaMpondomise behaved like children on a number of occasions and these are: Gugulethu does not tell NomaMpondomise that his father wants him to marry the girl of his choice, and he also fails to tell her that his relatives were forcing him to marry Thobeka Mcothama. On the other hand, NomaMpondomise does inform Gugulethu that she is engaged to another man. She decides to break her engagement with Mcunukelwa.

When NomaMpondomise reads the news from one of the columns of IMVO ZABANTSUNDU that Gugulethu has married Thobeka Mcothama, in the courtroom she asks to be embraced by Gugulethu after he received a death sentence for killing Thobeka's children. The presiding magistrate allows Gugulethu to embrace NomaMpondomise but she later commits suicide.

4.2.2 uDike noCikiswa (A.M. Mmango)

uDike noCikiswa is a play of an arranged marriage between Cikizwa and Mjongwa. Sando, the father of Cikizwa, forces his daughter Cikizwa to marry Mjongwa. Cikizwa is not consulted about this arranged marriage. She has her boyfriend, Dike who is a teacher by profession, whom Sando thinks does not have enough cattle to marry his daughter.

Cikizwa tries to explain her feelings about this arranged marriage but her father is adamant that he wants her to marry Mjongwa. Cikizwa writes a letter to Dike to inform him about this arranged marriage. In her letter she expresses her feeling about the socio-cultural laws of AmaXhosa, which prevent an individual's freedom.

Sando intercepts a reply to Cikizwa's letter from Dike and he acts according to the information he received from the letter. Sando, the father of Cikizwa, decided

to kill Dike in order to proceed with the arranged marriage of Mjongwa and his daughter. Cikizwa receives the news that her boyfriend, Dike, has been killed and she decides to take her life as well. Cikizwa, before she takes her life, expresses her disappointment about individuals not being able to make their own personal choices.

The main traditionalist in this play is Sando, the father of Cikizwa, the antagonist. From the opening of this play Sando is very busy initiating the marriage.

Cikizwa is against her father's arrangement of marriage. Her letter to Dike (her boyfriend), in which she expresses her ideas of opposing it, reads as follows

Dike wam

Kubi ukuphila kweli lizwe – ilizwe lamasiko, lezithethe
nemithetho, izinto ezithi unenyama negazi nengqondo
nje zikwenze ufane nesigodo somthi olinde ukubaswa.

Ndisitsho nje ndiva intlungu yokuthobela uMthetho katata –
uMthetho ondiphanga bonke ubuntu bam, undenze ndibe
yigusha efuyiweyo uMthetho ongqongqo katata
undinyazela ukuba manditshate noMjongwa Ngqike,
umfana waseMahlungulu.

Onke amalinge am okuzama ukubonisa utata ukuba andifuni
kutshata nalo mfana awe phantsi; ndibhala nje igama liyaphindwa
ngeCawa ngomhla wesi – 6 apha kuDisemba.

Ndithi mandikwazise le nto, sithandwa, Kuba apha emhlabeni
andazi bomi bumnandi njengobabathandanayo, ndaye andiboni
mfana ndingafa naye ngaphandle kwakho Dike wam.

Owakho Wenene, Cikizwa.

(My dear Dike,

It is hard to live in this world of customs, traditions and laws, things that though you are made of flesh, blood and brains make you look like a tree stump waiting to be lit for fire.

I am saying this because I am heartbroken at having to obey my father's law – a law which robs me of all my being, and makes me a sheep in a fold. My father's strict law forces me to marry Mjongwa Ngqike, a young man of Mahlungulu.

All my attempts of trying to show my father that I don't want to marry this young man have been in vain. As I am writing the banns are going to be called a second time on Sunday, the 6th of December.

I thought it best to let you know, my love, because in this world I know of no sweeter life than that of two people who love each other, and I see no other man with whom I can die other than you my loving Dike.

Yours lovingly, Cikizwa)

(Mmango 1983:1-2)

The above letter shows how Cikizwa feels about the culture or customs which prevent people from making their own choices. Cikizwa also depicts the unfairness of the socio-culture which binds people. She expresses her feelings about the cultural problems of her society. Her father is forcing her to marry Mjongwa. This letter projects the internal cultural conflict in Cikizwa about the socio-culture of AmaXhosa. It also indicates the bond between her and Dike. It is this attitude of the love relationship that motivates Cikizwa's inspiration and the will power to oppose her father's action. She defies her father because of what she believes and that is everyone should have a choice in matters that affect them, even in choosing a partner.

Cikizwa's spiritual pain is a result of the traditional attitude by Sando, his determination to employ his traditional right as the head of the homestead and Cikizwa's father, to choose a partner for her.

Cikizwa shows determination on her part not to be separated by customs or traditions from her loving partner. She formulates a strategy for avoiding this arranged marriage. She wants to force a postponement of the marriage, whereby

she will have enough time to formulate other strategies. She carries out her plan by pretending to be sick. This is brought out in her conversation with her paternal aunt Nomatiletile:

- Cikizwa : Ndiyagula Dadobawo
Nomatiletile : Yintoni?
Cikizwa : Ngumvandedwa Dadobawo!
- (Cikizwa : I am ill, Aunt.
Nomatiletile : What is the matter?
Cikizwa : My conscience is troubling me.)

(Mmango 1983:2-4)

Sando becomes aware of the ulterior motive for Cikizwa's "sickness". He indicates this to Nomatiletile who shows some signs of sympathy with Cikizwa.

Ukugula kwalo mntwana akusayi kundijika kwisigqibo sam.
Uza kutshata noMjongwa ethanda engathandi. Ngaba
akusayi kuze aphile. Uya kugula adagobe!

(This child's sickness will not change my decision. She
will marry Mjongwa whether she likes it or not. That
means she will never recover. She will be ill till she bends!)

(Mmango 1983:4-9)

Because of Sando's awareness of this plan, it fails.

In a desperate bid to get married to Mjongwa Ngqike, Nonjoli pays a visit to Cikizwa with an idea of dissuading her, in a subtle manner, from marrying Mjongwa. She advises Cikizwa:

Umfundisi akanyanzeli mntu ukuba makafungele into angayifuniyo
Nangoku ukuba umfana okanye intombi inokuphendula ithi: "Andisayi
kwenjenjalo". Akangeke atshatise umfundisi.

(The minister never forces one to swear to something one does not want.
Even now if a son or a girl can reply and say: "I won't do so", the

minister would never conduct the marriage ceremony.)

(Mmango 1983:11-12)

Cikizwa is very happy with the advice she receives from Nonjoli, as a device to get rid of Mjongwa.

Kowu! Undikhulule ntombi KaFadalele ngeli cebiso undithwese lona. Ngoku andisayi kuzikhathaza ngale nto, ndiza kusebenzisa icebiso lakho kanye ndahlukane NoMjongwa.

(Oh! You have relieved me Fadalele's daughter with this advice you have given me. Now I will no longer trouble myself with this. I am going to use your advice to get rid of Mjongwa.)

(Mmango 1983:12)

The above phrase shows that Cikizwa is in desperate need of any plan (from anybody) that would help her get rid of this arranged marriage.

Cikizwa confronts her father, for the first and last time before the official proceedings by the priest on the wedding day at the altar. She makes a decisive attack on her father by refusing to sign the marriage certificates. At a tragedy level all involved people were killed. Sando deliberately kills Dike, accidentally shoots Mjongwa Ngqike dead, Sando is arrested and Cikizwa commits suicide. All these tragedies are caused by the traditional attitude of Sando, who does not want to allow his daughter to marry the husband of her choice.

The author shows that the arranged marriages in modern times are not working any more. He emphasises that the young people should be allowed to make their choice about their marriage partners. Forcing them into this kind of arranged marriage often leads to tragedies, whereby they decide to kill themselves instead of refusing to accept what their parents need.

4.3 AMAXHOSA FORMS OF ARRANGED MARRIAGE AND FORCED MARRIAGE

Mbiti (1969:136) believes that, since the individual exists only because the corporate group exists, it is vital that in this most important contract of life, other

members of that corporate community must get involved in the marriage of the individual. There are other forms of marriage in which the individual does not have much choice. Among these, one can mention the levirate marriage by elopement and marriage by capture. The socio-cultural practice of AmaXhosa marriage more often than not leads to forced and forbidden love. Nkumane (1999:220) believes that the argument which is often put forward in support of these customary marriages is that they are part of a socio-culture that is imposed on a woman or a man for a particular reason. We believe that the practice of this customary marriage is more painful to women than men. This traditional custom more often occurs in the rural areas of AmaXhosa, particularly in the Transkei and Ciskei.

4.3.1 Levirate marriage (Isiko Lokungena Komfazi kwaXhosa)

Odetola (1983:33-34) explains this kind of marriage:

This is the rule according to which a man may, or must, marry the widow of his elder brother or other kinsman. In a true levirate, exemplified by the customs of the Hebrews, Swazi, Nuer, Tswana, Zulu and other peoples, when a man dies and his wife has not passed the age of child bearing, it is the duty of the man's brother to cohabit with the widow in order to raise children which would be counted, not as his, but as children of the deceased.

Nkumane's (1999:221) argument on the above explanation is that this kind of marriage is perceived as one of those customs that perpetuate the occurrence of forced and arranged marriage because the widow has no right to object to marrying her husband's brother. In other words, a widow is inherited like goods, and this denigrates the position of a woman to that of an object which moves from the hands of one man to the other without her consent.

Odetola (1983:33) further adds that: "Traditionally, the woman had no choice but to observe the custom". According to this custom, when a man dies his wife will be inherited by his brother. The widow, then, becomes the legal wife of the man inheriting her. The beneficial part of this custom is that the children are raised by a member of the same family as the deceased father. Although the

commitment and not a decision forced on them by their parents. The couple that is going to be married should know the consequences of their commitment.

Bride abduction (*ukuthwalwa*) is the traditional capture of a young woman by a man with the intention of marrying her. It is one of the oldest of AmaXhosa traditional customs, where a young woman is abducted by a young man with the help of his relatives. Nkumane (1999) agrees with this. An article entitled, "Wedding customs have their origins in olden days", elaborates on bride abduction. The article also explains why the woman stands on the left side of a groom on the wedding day. According to this article this universally known practice can be traced back from the custom of bride abduction. In the article which is based on Diane Ackerman's book, The Natural History of Love (1992) wherein she explains the origins of the best man, the honeymoon, the wedding, the ring, the cake, the stag party, and even why the bride stands on the left side of the man. Ackerman explained bride abduction as follows:

The first marriages were by capture. The man would kidnap the woman and take her away from her tribe with the help of a warrior friend – his best man – who would help him fight the suitors and prevent her family from finding them. The groom and the bride would go into hiding during the honeymoon, and by the time the bride's family found them, the bride would be pregnant. When the groom fought off other warriors who also wanted his bride, he would hold on to her with his left hand while fending them off with his sword in his right hand – which is why the bride stands on the left and the groom on the right (Saturday Star, 11 July 1998:09).

There are concrete reasons for this traditional custom of AmaXhosa. According to Ackerman's explanation, bride abduction occurred when a man wanted to marry a woman with whom he was not in a relationship. In order to marry her, the suitor would abduct her, and she would only be found when she was already pregnant. When this had happened it would be difficult for the other suitors to marry her. Buchi Emecheta, quoted in Stichter and Hay (1995:85) concurs with Ackerman's views when she explains that the woman was taken into the man's house, held down by his friends and family, and forced into sexual relations.

After these actions the woman was not left with much choice but to accept the marriage. Other men would be reluctant to marry a woman who has been abducted by another man.

An abduction is a socio-cultural custom that is practiced by AmaXhosa society. It was a culture that was well known in AmaXhosa society and the consequences of this type of culture are not always as good as they should be. A culture of this nature should be evaluated as time goes by.

AmaXhosa parents had pride in their children and this was another way of celebrating life. This culture has negative and positive results. The main things parents looked at was the behaviour and the background of the prospective spouse. No parents would allow a negative, imbalanced person into their families because they want the best for their children, whom they are proud of. Even though victims of this type of marriage had no say, their only benefit in some cases was that their marriage were long-lasting, especially in rural areas. This socio-cultural marriage was dignified because they respected their parents and followed their cultural traditions. In those days a disrespectful husband was fined one cow if he had been disloyal or treated his wife badly. Marriages were not broken easily because the couples respected their elders. It was possible that, in a forced marriage, the couple would end up loving each other until death. Thobeka and Cikizwa are the victims of the abduction. They are forced to marry men they do not choose.

In the olden days AmaXhosa people did what they felt was right and followed their culture, but now abduction would not be agreed to because of the human rights of the children. In these days young people challenge this practice and any parent who wants to force a child to marry by means of abduction, could end up in gaol. The children have the right to challenge this unfair practice.

What one can deduce in the selected isiXhosa texts is that AmaXhosa women play a subordinate role as it is one of their traditions. The overview presented by these dramas contests the idea that the AmaXhosa's social culture is not oppressive.

Conflicting cultural meanings flow from the traditionalist as the created social beings who thereby reproduce and perhaps reflect history. If AmaXhosa socio-culture was not oppressive, writers could have striven to maintain this notion in their writings, so as to fight against infiltration by Western culture. Mtuze (1994:4) opposes the claim that western culture is responsible for the current subordinate position of AmaXhosa women. He points out that the AmaXhosa male patriarchy existed long before whites arrived in the Cape and is built into much of AmaXhosa culture and tradition. It has become a common habit to blame everything that deviates from AmaXhosa culture to Western civilisation. Seemingly there is little evidence preserved in literature about the traditional social conditions of pre-colonist times.

The preceding analysis of the dramas has revealed that literature is both a highly mediated reflection of a prior reality and a potent construction of it. It has also been indicated that the silencing of women is the effect of her relegation to the private, domestic sphere.

This chapter has indicated that AmaXhosa culture does not cater for individualism. The culture of silence that dominates AmaXhosa society does not offer women and children the opportunity to express their ideas about being a woman in AmaXhosa society. It has been observed that an amaXhosa woman is forever expected to keep a low profile in order to maintain her dignity as a mother - amaXhosa woman should be a good example to her nation throughout her life. She is supposed to be the real Mother of Africa. Miriam Tlali (in Jones, 1987:49) attests to this notion.

'It is a problem when men want to call you Mother Africa and put you on a pedestal, because then they want you to stay there forever without asking your opinion – and become unhappy if you want to

come down as an equal being!'

Thobeka and Gugulethu represent the youth that accepts the social norms and parental control as the sole destiny of their lives. The so-called faithful youth respect their parents wishes and do not rebel against them. Viewing Thobeka and Gugulethu's behaviour in this light, one can postulate that they propagate the stereotype that every child should obey the authority of parents even if this means losing one's individual freedom, especially Thobeka in this regard. But at the end Gugulethu decides not to co-operate with his father's attempts to make him marry Thobeka. He destroys his father's ambitions, especially during the marriage ceremony when he does not answer any of the minister's questions.

The second category of youth is represented by the resistance heroine - Cikizwa. This woman is the epitome of women's resistance. Although she was forced to marry Mjongwa she voices her feelings to her relatives – this makes her different from other children who accept these arranged marriages without saying anything. She represents the new breed of AmaXhosa women. She refused to accept the dictatorship of her parent, particularly her father Sando. Her rebellious behaviour is an outcome of their oppressive parental control.

The effects of patriarchal domination which strips women of their right to choose their marriage partners, together with the psychological impact on the socio-cultural behaviour is discussed. This part of the study indicates the relationship that exists between a person and the environment.

The psychoanalytical behaviours of characters are mostly determined by their socio-cultural environment. It has been illustrated, too, that a hostile environment stimulates violent behaviours by the characters. Therefore, the violation of stereotypes by the characters indicates a strong relationship between the characters' actions and their environment.

CHAPTER 5

SOME OTHER RELEVANT THEMES

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on the themes related to forced marriages as the central ideas in the selected IsiXhosa texts. The examination of the following themes of love, oppression, submission, child marriage, protest and freedom is aimed at their critical evaluation which will expose the malpractices of socio-cultural practice.

5.2 SOME COMMENTS ON THEME

Discussions about themes cannot be totally disassociated from the message that we as readers infer from a text. A text may have one theme which is the central idea and simultaneously communicates various messages which are associated with the impression about life that a reader gets from a text. The purpose here is, therefore, to go beyond the discussion of the main theme of arranged marriage, and uncover the various hidden communications in the texts. The exploration of these central themes demonstrates the uncontrollable divergencies of the context. Finnegan (1976:377) puts it aptly when she says: "Of course, even then we need to remember that, as in the case of written literature, there can be no final definition of the purpose and use of oral [written] literature." We therefore discard the idea of a single definite meaning and suggest that multiple meanings can be ascribed to one text. Belsey in Warhol (1993:601) makes a significant contribution to the idea of Multiple meanings by stating that:

Instead it becomes plural, open to read, no longer an object for passive consumption but an object of work by the reader to produce meaning.

The above statement indicates the shift of emphasis from the writer, as individual speaker about the text, to the reader as the producer of multiple meanings. The text is no longer restricted to a single, harmonious authoritative reading. Benstock (1987:18) complements Warhol's suggestion by asserting that "language can never be confined to its moorings, language slips and slides away from intended meanings to arrive at thoroughly unexpected destinations". It is evident that writers do not write stories for the sake of story telling but they do so with the intention of sharing ideas and other life experiences with the readers. Hence Finnegan (1976:377) affirms that:

Amid all the theorizing about the possible functions of stories there is one point which, it seems, is often overlooked. This is the likelihood that within a culture stories are likely to have many functions. They will vary with the context and tone ...

Jones (1987:1) takes this point a little further and states that: "the African writer as we have come to know him is inevitably a public figure adopting a public stance, functioning as the eye, the conscience and at times the intelligence of his people, assuming the role of a prophet or sage or seer". Besides being observant about what is happening around him, he informs people about various human aspects of life and invites them to share in his philosophy of life by writing a literary work of art.

Theme as defined in Chapter 1 can be regarded as what a piece of action amounts to, the interpretation of persons and events and the unifying view of life that is presented by a text. More important is the idea that theme is related to the subject of the discourse as well as the interpretation of life presented by the work itself. Relevant here is the comment by Pretorius and Swart (1982:4) who believe that theme is "the interpretation of life as conveyed by the story as a whole". This comment emphasises that meaning is not readily available to the reader. Readers must read the whole story in order to be able to uncover its hidden meaning. This implies that in order to arrive at the theme of any literary work, the work concerned must be considered in its entirety.

Socio-cultural conflict is the central idea in all the selected IsiXhosa texts under scrutiny. It is categoric in arranged marriage. There are sub-themes that are derived from the theme of arranged marriage. The selected IsiXhosa dramatic works explicitly deal with the dilemma in which young people, especially young women, find themselves because of the socio-cultural practice of arranged marriage that often result in tragedies. Most of the secondary themes are directed to the larger society, but there are those that specifically address the universal cries of women. These include themes such as submissiveness. Other themes include ideas such as arranged marriage which culminate in catastrophic results, oppression, discrimination, protest and freedom.

Fischer (1980:1) affirms that:

All great artists have theme, an idea of life profoundly felt and founded in some personal and compelling experience. This theme then finds confirmation and development in new intuition. The development of the great writer is the development of his[her] theme – the theme is part of him[her] and has become the cast of his[her] mind and character.

5.3 COMMON THEMES OF WRITTEN DRAMA

The main problems confronting a changing society are usually projected in literature. These result in various themes being established by authors with the purpose of exposing certain situations affecting society. The modern dramas always intend to highlight the following themes. Historical and social themes are frequently found in the written modern drama.

5.3.1 Historical Theme

Umkhonto Katshiwo: - M.A.P. Ngani (1993)

This drama highlights the destruction of witches by the King of AmaXhosas and the innocent were also killed by Tshiwo the murderer. This was done by Kings who try to maintain their powers by killing people who, they think, could dethrone them.

Ngodongwane: P.M. Ntloko (1997)

In this drama the author recreates the past by writing about the unwanted practice of the sons of a chief who scramble for authority before their time. Tana and Ngodongwana, chief Jobe's sons, conspire to overthrow their aged father, but their strategy is exposed and they both suffered the consequences.

5.3.2 Social Themes

Inene Nasi Isibhozo: A. Mtingane

The peculiar behaviour of a widowed woman, Masukude, who over-protected the patrimonial rights of her child is subtly illustrated by the writer. Masukude wants Vuma to take-over from his father who died and be the leader of her family. When the male family of her husband refused to accept her plan, she decides to take further steps by making physical actions to disapprove of them.

Mamfene: L.M. Mbulawa (1962)

In this drama Mbulawa tries to indicate the intrigue that takes place when a Religious minister is unwilling to accept transfer from one circuit to another. This circuit is the Minister's place of birth. Jesula, the minister is prepared to kill in order to remain in his village and rich circuit, but his plans failed.

5.3.3 Love Themes

The writers have committed themselves to demonstrate the incompatibility of traditional and modern ideologies with regard to marital affairs. Parents arrange marriages or force their children to marry unwanted partners regardless of the protests by the children against this tribal violation of an individual's choice.

One of the reasons why parents like to make the choice for their children is because they feel they know from experience what to look for in a spouse in order to make a successful marriage. They take into consideration the background of any prospective partner to avoid any signs, for instance, of

witchcraft, disease, or mental weakness. They look for general respectability and above all whether the man can afford to pay lobola. On the other hand, modernists believe that affection or love is enough to enable two people to commit to marriage. The philosophy of the traditional attitude does not accommodate any love sentiments.

Mkgokong (1970: 22) ascribes this foible to the fact that beauty and elegance are to the traditionalists not of primary importance in choosing a bride. Diligence is the most important criterion used while the modernists value true love above other personal endowments. Another remarkable thing about these themes is that writers also attempt to depict the tragedy which derives from the obstinacy of the domineering parents. Tamsanqa and Mmango show the tragic consequences of stubbornness of parents. This issue will be extensively discussed in the following chapters.

5.4 THE MOST ESSENTIAL THEMES

The perception of marriage seems to suggest that in AmaXhosa traditional society a woman and a man are not considered as whole if they are not married. The theme of arranged marriage confirms the importance of marriage in an individual's life. Marriage is still regarded as highly important in AmaXhosa social life. Mbiti (1969:133) demonstrates this idea by saying:

For African peoples, marriage is the focus of existence. It is the point where all the members of a given community meet: the departed, the living and those yet to be borne. ... Marriage is a drama in which everyone becomes an actor or actress and not just a spectator. Therefore, marriage is a duty, a requirement from the corporate society, and a rhythm of life in which everyone must participate. Otherwise, he who does not participate in it is a curse to the community, he is a rebel and a lawbreaker, he is not only abnormal but 'under-human'.

Mbiti's comment highlights the importance of marriage. It stresses that marriage is not an option but a necessity. According to this statement society discriminates against the unmarried and views them as a curse, abnormal and law-breaking citizens. Society attaches great respect to a married person

while most shun the divorced and the unmarried. Nobody likes to be viewed as abnormal or as a curse by his/her community. It is society's expectation that all people should get married and participate in the institution of marriage. Accordingly, marriage is viewed as compulsory. Themes like protest, child marriage, discrimination, submission – these all help in exposing the malpractices of the arranged marriage in the selected texts.

5.4.1 **Parental arranged marriages**

The theme of arranged marriages in AmaXhosa socio-cultural set up. In IsiXhosa an arranged marriage is known as "*ukwendiselana*". Arranged marriage can be explained as the type of marriage that comes into being against the will of one of the spouses involved. The theme of arranged marriage relays the thought that it is not always possible for a man or a woman to marry the person he/she loves. This theme deals with young men and women who find themselves in the predicament of being forced to marry a man or woman they do not love. There are various reasons one can assume to be the causes of arranged marriages. These reasons range from economic, social and religious to cultural aspects. This culture involves the selection of mates by parents, which was one of the many functions performed by the traditional extended family. Odetola (1983:20) explains as follows:

Traditionally and ideally under the extended family system, the selection of mates was an integral part of the collective responsibility of the extended kin group ... The marriage was therefore arranged through the orders of the parents and the words of the go-between. Another important aspect of mate selection in the traditional extended family was the fact that a wedding was not considered as a matter between two individuals based on mutual compatibility and life-long companionship but rather a conjugation between two families.

From the above statement, one can infer that in the traditional family it was the duty of the parents to initiate and conceal the marriage arrangement. Nothing was mentioned about the prospective couple. Nevertheless, there was a good intention behind the whole selection process, which is the viewing of marriage as a union between two families rather than a

relationship between two individuals. The arranged marriage extends the relationship beyond the two individuals to include other family members as well.

Sando in **uDike noCikizwa** explains the culture of arranged marriage as follows:

Andenzanga nto inxaxileyo emthethweni. Yimfanelo yomzali emntwaneni ukuba amkhulise, amenzele onke amalungelo afanelekileyo umntwana wakhe. Ngaba ndinkqangiswa ngantoni ngoku xa ndilungiselela umntwana wam, ndimakhela ikhaya? Andithi ikhaya lekamva lomntwana oyintombazana lisekwendeni? Wena unga lo mntwana wam angaphalala ndakufa?

(I haven't done something which is out of order. It is the right of parents to up-bring the child and make all necessary rights to my child. I should be blamed now, when I arrange for my child, I am building a home for her? Doesn't the home and the future of a girl child depend on a good marriage. You want my child to be destroyed when I die?")

(Mmango 1983:7)

The above excerpt conveys the good intention of the socio-cultural practice of arranged marriage. Arranged marriages are viewed as offspring of forced arrangement marriage. The practice of arranged marriages seems to imply that a woman's life is not whole without a man and also that a man's life is not complete without a woman.

Potash in Stichter and Hay, (1995:83) indicates that in some places and among some families an arranged marriage is used to benefit the marriage arranger. In virtually all African societies, traditional marriage is confirmed by the payment of bride price by the husband and his close relatives, to the bride's father and his close relatives. Presumed beneficiaries are men, especially fathers. This is more likely to occur in hierarchical societies with emergent stratification, where marriage can be used to consolidate power. It is evident that economic status is one other influential factors which impelled fathers to arrange marriages for their daughters to marry a man with plenty of cattle.

The selected IsiXhosa texts indicate that most parents who enter into marriage arrangements of this nature want to fill their kraals with the cattle which are acquired through bride price. Such men do not consider the fact that a marriage should be a successful union. The girl becomes an economic commodity which will enable the father to collect as many cattle as he can to fill his kraal. However, in some cases arranged marriage occurs for good reasons.

Parents arrange for their children to enter into marriage also because they want to save themselves the embarrassment of having old and unmarried children in their homes. They take it upon their shoulders to make marriage arrangements for their children.

UDike noCikizwa, a drama by Mmango, indicates that Sando wants to get rich out of his daughter's *ikhazi*. Sando is the initiator of his daughter's marriage. The marriage in this drama is merely to benefit the marriage arranger. Sando aims to enrich himself through the *ikhazi*. The heroine of this play is Cikizwa. Her father, Sando, arranges that she must marry Mjongwa, who is rich and known as the most successful agriculturalist at Mahlungulu. Cikizwa already has a boyfriend named Dike who is a teacher who has the intention of marrying her. Sando says about the lobola:

Oo! Silungisa nje kukho izinja ezinama-namayo! Ndiza kuphulukana neshumi elinesihlanu leenkomo, amashumi amabini eegusha nehashe ngenxa yesi sidenge; Ekungenzeka ukuba asinayo nenkukhu le.

(Oh! While we are sorting there are dogs who are coming close. I will lose fifteen cattles, twenty-two sheep and a horse because of this stupidity.)

(Mmango 1983:28)

The writer highlights how men like Sando sell their daughters with the aim of acquiring more wealth for themselves. Sando here is portrayed as the abuser of his own culture for his personal gain. Although it was common practice in the olden days for a father to choose a man for his daughter, it is evident that Sando in this case is impelled by his love of wealth to force his

daughter to reject her boyfriend and marry the man he has chosen for her. Sando is not concerned with the well-being of his child but wants to satisfy his greediness. Cikizwa's attempts to show by her actions that she does not love Mjongwa failed - she refuses to sign a Marriage Certificate. Her plea falls on the deaf ears of Sando. Her father also takes the further drastic step of killing her boyfriend, Dike.

Mmango makes use of minor characters, such as Siba, to convey the idea that arranged marriage does not always prosper. Some members of the community are also doubtful of the success of arranged marriages and Siba criticises the practice of these arranged marriages when he says:

Ubumnyama bobu bokuba abantwana bathatyathwe njengezidalwa ezingenaluvo nezingakwaziyo ukucinga; ihlazo leli lokuba ekwaxhiweni kokwalamana injongo ibe yinzuzo ingabi kukwakha ukwalamana okundilekileyo nokufanekileyo eluntwini.

(This is the darkness that takes children as creatures, with no ideas, who can not think: the disgrace of building the friendship is that the aim is to be rich not the building of a relationship which is dignified and necessary for people.)

(Mmango 1983:79)

Mmango demonstrates that love should come from within the individuals who are to be husband and wife. The marriage between Cikizwa and Mjongwa does not succeed and the result of the marriage is its tragic end.

In Tamsanqa's **Buzani Kubawo** (1987) Zwilakhe is the initiator of his son's marriage because he is the one who raises the subject on behalf of his wife MaGaba. He believes that his son is of age and should get himself a wife as the following words confirm:

Usibona singqengqile nje ke mfo wam silele ebusuku gqitha sithetha ngendaba yakho. Noko thina ngokwethu ukubona besicinga into yokuba ukwixabiso lokuba ube unesandla sokhohlo. Umdala, ungaka nje mfo wam. Akusayi kuphinda kuthiwe ungumntwana.

(As you see we are still on bed, my son is because we slept quite late last night discussing your issue. According to our view now you are in the right age of having a helper. You are now old my son – you

We should bear in mind that Zwilakhe is a traditionalist man. The issue of arranged marriage in **Buzani Kubawo** is based purely on socio-cultural grounds. There is no economic gain for Gugulethu's arranged marriage. Instead, Zwilakhe, a traditional father, believes that he should incur all the expenses with regard to payment of the bride price for his son's wife. In traditional societies where the traditional way of life is still practised, there is nothing wrong with this. Odetola (1983:21) makes an important observation when he states that in the extended patriarchal family, authority resides in the father. He further explains the fact that the head of the family, the father in this case, has absolute control over the family and over the family's economic, social and religious functions. Odetola believes that arranged marriage and even the payment of the bride price in certain cases is done by the male to maintain their the status quo in the social set-up of AmaXhosa. Hence he says:

As a result of the position of the father, he plays a prominent role in the selection of mates for the young members of the family; he pays and receives bride-price, and he is responsible for the marriage (ceremony) expenses and the general expenses for the upkeep of the family. He is therefore both respected and feared. (1983:21).

Zwilakhe compels Gugulethu to marry Thobeka because, as the head of the Hlubi homestead, he has the customary right to do this. Gugulethu cannot do as he wishes in his father's homestead. Zwilakhe is prepared to do anything for his son and feels, therefore, that there is no need for his son to maintain that he is not willing to marry this girl:

Unyanisile mawethu ukuthi makubuzwe kum. Kakade mna bendimangalisiwe ukuba ubizelweni na umfana, yintoni na efuna yena ngoku? ... thina into yethu kukukhupha amadoda aye kusicelela ubulawu kwaMcothama qha ke. Ayikho enye into.

(He is right when he says ask me. I was even surprised why we have called the son. What is needing him know? ... What we need to do is to send men to ask Mcothana a marriage relationship just only.)

(Tamsanqa 1987:43)

From the above statement it is clear that Zwi lakhe is willing or prepared to pay lobola for Gugulethu, he does not even need to ask him about other details of the marriage except that concerning his accepting the marriage with Thobeka. Zwi lakhe practices arranged marriage beyond the boundaries of his homestead. This is denied by one of the homestead members, Zweni, who says about this culture:

Senditshilo kuwe ndathi akukho siko lileli, ngumkhuba lo. Ukho umahluko phakathi komkhuba nesiko, andazi ke nokuba ufuna ndide ndilikhuphe litsole ndithi ulixoki na?

(I said to you that there is no such custom. This is the wrongdoing. There is a difference between wrongdoing and a custom. I do not know whether you want me to tell you straight that you are a liar.)

(Tamsanqa 1987:44)

The extract above proves beyond any doubt that Zwi lakhe is not getting the support from everyone in his homestead, especially from his brothers who even lose their respect for Zwi lakhe and even deny that there is such an atrocious custom.

In Zwi lakhe's patriarchal traditional view, it is his right to even court a wife for his son and arrange for him to choose the girl that he, as his father, or mother identified as a good wife for their son.

It is maybe his id drives that presses Gugulethu to marry Thobeka. We recall that the id seeks immediate and complete satisfaction of its drives without considering anything but its own immediate pleasure. This immediate requirement of the satisfaction of the id drives indicates that the id is not capable of any afterthought, self-reflection or planning. Zwi lakhe is in favour of Thobeka in such a way that he cannot think properly and never considers the consequences of his actions. Zwi lakhe in this book Buzani Kubawo is portrayed as a traditionalist who is autocratic as well. He is a staunch traditionalist who does not expect his son to disagree with him in any matter.

If a girl is good enough to be a wife in Zwi lakhe and his wife's eyes their son should see the same. He (Zwi lakhe) does not believe that his son should

marry a woman of his own choice. In AmaXhosa culture, as already explained by Odetola (1983), it is a dominant traditional belief that a bride is not only responsible for her husband, but she also has to take care of the family as a whole. Most importantly, she should take care of her parents-in-law.

The bottom line in this drama is that the girl that Gugulethu decides to marry should satisfy his parents as the heads of the family. Zwilakhe spells out clearly that only Thobeka will be the lawful bride of his Hlubi homestead.

Mawethu andikho kuyo yonke le njikeleza yokube ndixoxa. Ndithe umfana makazekelwe intombi kaMcothama. Ndigqibile ke. Masithethe kuloo mhlaba ke ngoku.

(Fellows, brothers, I am not involved in this rounding off discussion. I said the young man must marry the girl of Mcothana. I finish, then let speak to those grounds).

(Tamsanqa 1987:37)

From the above statement it is clear that Zwilakhe is an arrogant man who has too much pride in himself and too little consideration for others. Gugulethu is obliged to marry a home girl who is able to carry out feminine chores. This story clearly indicates how traditional men like Zwilakhe, in this case, condition young men to fit into the sex-role stereotypes to which he, as the head of the family, subscribes.

Stimpson (in Benstock 1987:147) confirms this male dominance over the social role of women:

...they have decided who will have power, and who will not. In so doing men have relegated woman, as women, to the margins of culture, if not silence and invisibility.

Ixoki lona sewuzenze lona Radebe ngokuthi andintanga yakufunzwa nganto undimele ngecephe undifunza uyabona ke mandiyikuphe le nyaniso. Nosana alo sewulufunza, ukuba ukutya alukufuni, alukufuni.

(You have already made yourself a liar. By saying I am not in the age

of forcing, while you stand with spoon and fork, look I want to give you this truth. If a baby when you force to eat, and choose not.)

(Tamsanqa 1987:36)

Gugulethu objects to his father's actions. He believes that he will only change his mind if his father allows him to marry his own chosen girl and not the one chosen by his father. Gugulethu's stubbornness is perpetuated by his father's patriarchal control. The above phrase shows how the general behaviour of children and of people in general is affected by family relationships. Things do not seem to work out in Gugulethu's favour because it seems impossible to escape his culture. Odetola (1983:4) makes an important remark when he asserts that in most African Societies the personality of the individual is significantly interwoven with cultural factors. He adds that from birth to death the individual cannot escape the impact of cultural experience. The practice of arranged marriages indicates the relationship that exists between the individual's private life and his or her cultural values. Gugulethu is a young, educated man whose views about life are totally different from his father's. The arranged marriage for Gugulethu indicates how his individual life is intertwined with his cultural background.

Eventually, Gugulethu yields to Zwi lakhe's coercive actions and marries Thobeka. The arranged marriage, however, does not prosper. It fails. Because he does not want to sign the papers and Gugulethu abandons his arranged marriage wife and his parent and goes to Umtata and later his chosen girl kills herself.

Arranged marriage focuses mainly on prohibited love which is the love that is out of reach and out of bounds. The texts under consideration indicate that the socio-economic status of families and cultural factors play a major role in the consummation of an arranged marriages as well as in the denial of a marriage. A wealthy family, for example, would forbid their child to marry a person from a poor family background. Stichter and Hay (1995:85), have noticed that, as they maintain:

In other situations, the man or his family was deemed unsuitable because they were poor, came from a group with low social standing,

or had a reputation of witchcraft, infertility or other problems. Sometimes it was her family that objected; sometimes the woman herself decided against the marriage.

It is evident from the above quotation that there are various reasons such as poverty, witchcraft and infertility which are used as reasons for the prohibition of a marriage. Marriage, then, is based on specific social circumstances. Odetola mentions that in all cultures, endogamy and exogamy are important factors which narrow the range of marital possibilities for the individual. Endogamy (Odetola, 1983:35) is explained as:

The general norms or rules restricting marriage to members of the same group, tribe, village or other social group. It is used here to refer to the selection of a mate similar to the individual in that they are both members of the same broad social grouping and influenced by the same general norms. One may want to marry somebody who is similar to oneself in such areas as ethnic background, religion and general social and economic status. Amongst the endogamous factors are propinquity, which refers to proximity and a common race, age, religion, education and occupation.

Mmango in **UDike noCikizwa** writes about an arranged marriage. Sando, Cikizwa's father forbids his daughter to marry Dike. His objection is based on Dike's economic status as compared with Mjongwa who is very wealthy. Cikizwa has no alternative but to abide by her father's decision that she will never get married to any other man other than Mjongwa.

As a minor, and a girl for that matter, she cannot dare to challenge her father's authority. She has to show respect by honouring his decision. In his own words, Sando tells his sister and his wife gathered at his home that his daughter will never be married to any other man except Mjongwa.

Khona ukuba ndenza ntoni ngalo mntwana ingowam nje ngubani othethayo, kuya kubakho ntoni ngokuthetha kwakhe, kuba ke andizi kujika kule nto ndiyenzayo?

(What ever I done with this child is mine, who says what, and what will happen, about her saying, because I am not going to change to

what I am doing.)

(Mmango 1983:7)

Sando is a very stubborn father. No one can convince him to change his mind about this arranged marriage. Despite all these warnings and persuasion by his sister, he remains determined that the marriage between Mjongwa and Cikizwa will take place. Cikizwa is forced to acknowledge her father's decision. Cikizwa cannot do anything.

Her response to her father's actions is catastrophic. She refuses to take vows.

Andisayi Kwenjenjalo!

(I'm not going to do that!)

(Mmango 1983:71)

From the above statement Cikizwa is now violating her father's decisions. This eventually leads to a tragedy whereby many people die and Cikizwa kills herself.

Sando forces Cikizwa to marry Mjongwa and forbids her to marry Dike. His rejection maybe based on the fear of unknown. Sando does not approve of Dike marrying Cikizwa because Sando's family knows neither him nor his family. Propinquity in this case, as Odetola (1983) has suggested, plays a major role. Proximity acts to Mjongwa's advantage and to Dike's disadvantage. Sando is a traditionalist man who may be uncomfortable with the idea of his daughter bringing home a stranger to join his family. Sando wants Cikizwa to marry Mjongwa because he is a home boy. He grew up before his eyes and his parents are known to the family.

Parents like Sando who perpetuate such arranged marriages, do not trust girls or boys they do not know. It is worse then if the family is also unknown. This is because the parents cannot be sure of the behaviour and conduct of a girl or a boy who did not grow up in the same vicinity as their child.

Ekungenzeka ukuba asinayo, nenkukhu le.

(It may happen that he has not even a chicken.)

(Mmango 1983:28)

This statement proves that Sando is not living in the same village as Dike. He does not know whether he has lobola or not. This proves that he is afraid that Dike may be a poor man. Sando does not trust a man he does not know and the use of an insulting word such as Njandini portrays him as a rude, traditional Xhosa man who does not see any harm in insulting a person. To him it does not matter whether his daughter loves that man or not. It seems as if the only man who deserves a good name is one who grows up before his eyes in his neighbourhood, like Mjongwa, the only man he knows that is capable of being a good husband. Cikizwa's story ends tragically. Sando arranged marriage with Mjongwa but this did not discourage her from loving Dike. Cikizwa proceeded with her plan of breaking the marriage in the church.

Arranged marriage not only has disastrous effects for the prospective couple who have to contend with their parents' demands; the parents too are the victims of their own actions. Their dignity also suffers severely. The two dramatic books have indicated that forbidding a child to marry a man or woman of his choice affects the parents also, who suffer emotionally, psychologically and otherwise. Also, they lose their children through death.

5.5 THEME OF SUBJUGATION

The theme of oppression deals with the denial of individual rights to a person who is regarded as inferior or subordinate by one who is in a powerful position such as in the case of women and children in the socio-cultural set-up of AmaXhosa. This study reflects male supremacy and absolute power over society and their siblings. Patriarchy, to be more specific, selfishly and deceptively perverts privileges bestowed upon it by traditions to the detriment and disadvantage of children and women. The dramatists whose works are under scrutiny here, concentrate on the question of the misuse of and distortion of power and privilege in a socio-cultural setting in which one segment of the population obviously male, has more power than women and children. Patriarchal law is imposed upon the mother and her children because they are traditionally treated as minors in AmaXhosa traditional family set-up. Msimang (1994:121) highlights the fact that women and children are accorded the same status in the IsiZulu culture when he explains

that "...in this culture [Zulu Culture] my forebears maintained that a woman is a child, a perpetual minor whether before or after marriage. Thus a man with one wife and four children would claim that he has five children." These plays then should be viewed as a response by the dramatists to what they saw happening in their societies. In AmaXhosa society, women are treated as minor people who are not important when decisions of their household have to be made. In Inene Nasi isibhozo Masukude has no right to take any decision about the affairs of her household without the approval of the brother-in-law, Lolo. Ntuli (1984:133) complements this view when he says: "...throughout the ages writers have been found to express their displeasure about certain conditions and practises." He further stresses this point by commenting:

When the poet [writer] exposes the evils or irregularities he notes around him, he wants to arouse in his readers a state of disquietude which will lead to some kind of reform (1984:134).

The dramatists have observed that the occurrence of arranged marriage is the result of the power imbalances between male and female. Schipper's question in Jones (1987:46) is appropriate to this matter when she asks:

"... why should men be more equal than women?" The answer to this question is that the issue of equality has to do with society's heritage of traditions and norms. In traditional AmaXhosa societies, the role of each citizen is to perpetuate the status quo, to assume responsibility for the continuity of the clan, to work within tradition, and to maintain the closed society. The oppression of young men and women into arranged marriage by men reveals the lack of confidence the father has in the choice of a marriage partner by his child. These cultures also declare the honourable position of the father in society.

Oppression is associated with an autocratic way of doing things. It is a fact that AmaXhosa's cultural tradition does not cater for individualism. There is very little room for the consideration of individual feelings, since the aspirations of society as a whole are emphasised above that of the individual.

In **Inene Naso Isibhozo**, despite the opinion of Lolo and his brothers, Masukude does not consider them to be of any value in the running of her house. The fact that she is a widow does not mean that Lolo should consider her as his subject. She wants her biological son Vuma to get married and be away from the oppression of Lolo and his family.

Mntwanam, ndikhathazwa nguyihlo-mncinci. Okoko kwathi kwabhubha uyihlo, lo mzi uLolo uwenza owakhe.

(My child I am worried by your father's youngest brother since your father died. This family Lolo his family.)

(Mtingane 1992:12)

The above statement indicates that Lolo is in control of his brother's family since he died. Lolo has done this according to the culture of AmaXhosa, whereby if the brother died while his son was still young, the close brother will take over until the son of his deceased brother gets married. Also the feeling of Masukude's oppression by her husband's family is a pain which leaves her with no say in the affairs of her house. In her struggle she wants to give power to her biological son, Vuma, as the head of the household, not Themba, as it is culturally supposed, because Thema is older than Vuma although he is a stepson of Masukude.

Mfolo says about the presence of Masukude in her house affairs:

Lo ke umfazi uza kwaneka umcimbi womzi emadodeni uza kusanekela ngani.

(This wife will present the state of affairs of the family in men. How she will present?)

(Mtingana 1992:24)

Mfolo's statement represents a long held traditional belief which prevails in various societies, that a married woman will never have a say in her in-laws family. The above phrase indicates that they will never acknowledge Msukude's views about her house. The idea of Mfolo is that a woman should

not interfere when men are talking. A woman should be submissive and listen to her husband as the head of the family. They are not only autocratic, but also pressurise Msukuke to keep quiet. Oppression and autocracy seldom cater for a variety of ideas in any sphere of life. The writers portray most of the traditional men as strict authoritarians.

Mfolo proves his traditional authority by saying to Masukude:

Tyhini, bafondini! Ngoobani aba baza kubhenguzelwa ngelokhwe? Masukude, thatha iemele uyokukha amanzi, upheke, siza kubiza xa sikufuna.

(Oh, fellows! How are? These how are going to be weaving dress, Masukude, take the bucket and go to fetch water and cook we shall call you when we need you.)

(Mtingane 1992:25)

The above statement proves that Mfolo does not recognise Masukude as a person who can be involved in a family discussion. This proves the traditionalist approach that the place of a woman is in the kitchen. Traditionalists like Mfolo want their decision to be perceived as final, and desire that Masukude complies with their decision as the heads of the family. Masukude often wants for herself the same authority as that of a man in her house as a mother, authority that is sanctioned by tradition.

It is a common tradition among AmaXhosa to appoint the brother who will be in control after the death of the father or his brother who owns the house. This reveals the importance of patriarchy in an AmaXhosa family. This could be the reason why men never name their homesteads after their mothers. It also highlights the truth that in AmaXhosa tradition a woman is not considered to be important in a homestead because she is regarded as one of the man's children.

Culture is non-reciprocal and hierarchical in nature when it is based on the relationship between a husband and a wife. Mfolo's idea says man is central in his family and his wife is peripheral. Masukude's rebellious attitude to this cultural binding is that of womanism as a politic directed at changing the

existing power relations between man and woman in a traditional society. It is aimed at improving the situation of inequality between men and women in all traditional spheres of life. It is clearly evident from Mfolo's comment that it is always difficult to start sharing power if one is used to being the master of the family. For people who never had authority, the changes can only be for the better of their lives. The demands of change and adaptation to modern values disturb the balance of power and unsettle those who are in authority. These requirements threaten their superior positions and do not guarantee any safety in the new order or a return to the old traditional life. Offering a compromise solution is difficult and painful for those who still adhere to the old socio-cultural traditional life and those who align themselves with the modern life and its liberal views. Mseleku (1996:6) maintains that: "... it is primarily for these reasons that you find many innocent characters suffering or dying in the texts – they become victims of the dominant order because change is painful". The oppression apparent in these dramas seems to stem from the fear of the unknown, the fear of adaptation to modern values, the problem of selfishness, the abuse of authority by traditional men who are in power, who believe in holding and maintaining the powerful traditional structure of their forefathers.

The traditional setting in these drama books explains the problems of adjustment from traditional to modern views. Patriarchy is portrayed as struggling for the maintenance and security of the traditional powers which such societies believe were bestowed upon them by ancestors. Schipper in Jones (1987:46) puts it explicitly when she says:

Men often want for themselves the same authority in their homes as their fathers had, an authority that was sanctioned by tradition and myths of the past. Young men want to marry virgins, and girls are given in marriage to husbands by fathers who do not have to ask their daughter's opinion. Women are expected to be faithful to their husbands, but have no right to ask the same in return. The men often have quite different norms, those that suit their male convenience.

Schipper reiterates that women have no voice in African Culture. Woman's opinion is not highly regarded. A woman cannot expect a man to give her the same faithfulness as she does to him. The role of a woman is to remain quiet

and faithful to her husband. This presents a conflict of values, because according to the above excerpt men want only a certain section of society, the women, to keep up good traditional values while there are no restrictions placed upon men. It is not surprising even today to observe that very few men, if any, oppose the patriarchal system on which the society's value system is based. Mfolo in **Inene Nasi Isibhozo** approved this view. This becomes clear in his conversation with his male family member:

Masukude, thatha, iemele uyokukha amanzi, upheke, sakukubiza xa sikufuna.

(Masukude, take the bucket and go to fetch water and cook, we shall call you when we need you.)

(Mtingane 1992:25)

Mfolo is alarmed by the presence of Masukude in a family meeting. As a traditional man, he refuses to discuss anything with his family male members in the presence of Masukude as a married woman in his family.

In **Buzani Kubawo** Zwilakhe is shocked to notice that Gugulethu refuses to accept his will as his father. As a cultural traditional man too, he shares the same views as his wife MaGaba. MaGaba does not understand why Gugulethu questions his father's decision. She also thinks that Gugulethu should honour his father's decision and be content with arranged marriage because the culture of choosing a wife for one's son is a long standing tradition. Zwilakhe is still married to his wife, MaGaba, who was chosen by his father. This is their culture and according to Zwilakhe and his wife it should be followed without any questions. This, however, proves the point that culture is something which is imposed on one's essential self by the society into which one is born. Gugulethu's refusal to abide by his father's decision would put him at loggerheads not only with his family, but with his community at large. According to African tradition, Gugulethu has no right to disobey his father's decision.

Mmango in **UDike noCikizwa** presents us with Sando, Cikizwa's father. In her discussion with her sister, it becomes evident that Sando's act in forcing

his daughter to marry Mjongwa is based on the old IsiXhosa traditional saying: *Andithi ikhaya lekamva lomntwana oyintombazana lisekwendeni?* (Isn't it true that the home of a girl is in her marriage?). This could further the perception that the girl should marry. Sando, like all traditional men, respects Mjongwa because of the large number of cattle and goats he owns. He therefore forces his daughter Cikizwa to marry him because if she marries him, he will get some cattle and sheep as lobola. Sando does not value the opinions of a woman or a child. Cikizwa is instructed to end her affair with her boyfriend Dike, for Mjongwa. She must suppress her love and feelings for the man she loves, in order to marry the man chosen by her father. It is quite clear from the above statement that in AmaXhosa's traditional societies, that are characterised by male dominance, women hold hardly a higher status than children.

Dike replies to Cikizwa's letter by saying:

Musa ukukhathazeka Cikizwa wam!
Akukho mandla asiko;
Akukho mandla asithethe;
Akukho mandla amthetho,
Akusahlula thina sobabini.

(Do not worry my dear Cikizwa
There is no power of custom;
There is no power of culture;
There is no power of law,
That can separate us.)

(Mmango 1983:18)

Dike's statement above further stresses that the power that men have is limited. The truth of the matter is that no matter how powerful Sando is, he can never successfully force Cikizwa to love a person she does not love. Dike sees Cikizwa's father as a symbol of oppression and injustice. He resents the unfairness of AmaXhosa traditional custom to which he has been subjected.

The fact that women do not play significant roles in their homes can be traced to the traditional past. African men accepted the status quo from their forefathers and saw nothing wrong with it. Men generally believe that this is a man's world and that women are subordinate to the traditional authority of men. Although things seem to be generally difficult for women, we need to

appreciate, on the one hand, our dignified and meaningful past, a past rich in a sophisticated and sensitive indigenous culture; on the other hand, the liberal and modern life with its emphasis on the rights of the individual. A need arises therefore to synthesise the two worlds, both traditional and modern, and to appreciate that culture is dynamic and not static.

5.6 THEME OF SUBMISSIVENESS

Socio-culture determines the nature of the interpersonal relations involved in every family unit. Thus, culture interacts closely with social organisation in the working out of family relations with a man, his wife and their children. The theme of submissiveness deals with the self-evident issue of the subjugation of women to man as presented by the dramatists. One of the most important duties of womanism is to analyse the significance of gender in culture.

This section, then, traces the authority of men over women in a culture where women are regarded as the 'Other'. It underlines the social inequality that prevails between men and women in the AmaXhosa society. The text reflects different types of traditional authority, power and of the AmaXhosa male's sense of superiority over a woman. Here we are therefore concerned both with the theoretical truth and the historical fact of women's subordination to men.

Historically, women were, and still are, subservient to the head of the family, just like other members of the family. Most of the time they played very passive and secondary roles in the family decision making process. Domestically, women were traditionally socialised into submitting themselves and their aspirations to the control of men. Miller (1990:246) contends:

The theoretical truth is that gender is not merely a supplementary issue that can be "added in" to a critical approach, like a caboose on a train; gender as an issue and feminist [womanist] criticism in particular, invite a reappraisal of literature and culture from the ground up.

All three dramatists reflect male superiority over the female. This shows how the inferior position of women has largely been perpetuated by literature. Miller's call for the appraisal of literature and culture is of great significance if we take into consideration the fact that most AmaXhosa and other African literature is prescribed to be read at schools. We all assume that children associate themselves with the norms and the culture that is communicated by the literature they read. An appraisal of literature and culture then, could be aimed at changing the mind set of children. It also brings to the fore the relation of literature-culture patriarchy.

Submissiveness is another form of controlling female sexuality. Culture commands women and children in general to succumb to the will of their husband and fathers. Cora Kaplan in Selden (1985: 132) puts it aptly when she says "... ideology is the universal penile club which men of all classes use to beat women with." Traditional men as heads of families want things to go their way.

In **UDike noCikizwa** Sando does not believe that a woman should question a man about his decisions. When arguing with his sister Nomatiletile, about Cikizwa's arranged marriage, Sando becomes angry; *Ukuba ufuna sixabane sobabini nokoza le nto yalo mntwana*. (If you want us to be in conflict consistently mention this thing of this child). The oppression of silence is evident in Nomatiletile's advice to her brother. Silence in this manner is used to compel submissiveness on the part of the woman. Submissiveness is a sort of repression. According to Reber (1985:640), in sociology and social psychology, repression refers to the limitations on a group's or an individual's freedom of expression and action by a dominant group or individual. To keep his sister where she belongs, Sando tells her that it is an African traditional belief that one of the most important duties of a man is to arrange marriages for his children. Sando orders her sister Nomatiletile to keep quiet and to get out of his house.

Kakade kakade uzigqibe nini ezasemaQocweni, emzini wakho uze kundifundekela apha emzini wam nje?

(By the way, by the way, when did you finish the issue of maQocweni, your family, while you come here to make noise in my house?)

(Mmango 1983:7)

Sando's reaction reminds us of the popular African norm that a woman should not question a man about his actions or decisions. His statement qualifies that only a man has the sole right to do things without being questioned. His sister has no right to ask him. The head of the family, the father – Sando in this case – has absolute control over his family. A woman should always give in to the authority and control of man, even in matters that concern the family at large. Like any minor, a woman shows no form of respect if she questions a man's decision regarding his family matters.

Sando's comment is evidence that we live in a male dominated culture in which women remain unacknowledged, and where they are forced into sex roles which demand that they be dependent, passive and nurturing. Our culture favours men. It does not impose strict rules which force them to assume sex roles that are not as crippling as those of women.

It is quite evident from the above discussion that silence is the most powerful metaphor for the exclusion of women from participating in matters that concern their lives, as well as from equally in the running of their families. The fact that men are portrayed as greater than women, which is recurrent in all selected IsiXhosa texts, leads to the conclusion that man is superior to, and more human than, women. Miller (1990:253) says: "... in African literature as a whole women hardly have a mouth yet." Voice is rhetorical, full of unity, homogenisation and empowerment. Censorship of speech and freedom of expression for women should therefore be recognised and addressed. Men like ZwiLakhe, Sando and Mfolo strongly believe that the censorship of speech helps them to achieve the submissiveness they expect from women and children. The repeated use of the idea that men have the sole rights in their families appears consistently in the texts. Such an assertion automatically relegates the woman to an insignificant being. Does this mean that in African culture a woman ever owns a home? It is evident that no man in all these dramas refers to his homestead as 'mother's home' or 'my mother's homestead'. The dramas clearly reveal that our culture is

fundamentally patriarchal. A woman, therefore, cannot be expected to play an equally significant role with her husband in the AmaXhosa socio-cultural system. The censorship of the freedom of expression on the part of women and children is viewed as a denial of human rights because women and children have no right to express their opinions on matters that affect them. The long existing culture of silence among women and children, about life threatening situations in their lives, could be said to have emerged out of such conditions.

5.7 THEME OF CHILD MARRIAGE

The point of departure here is the fact that writers do not write about childhood. Their interest is focussed on the midpoint of life which is the period where the issue of child marriage fits in. This theme analyses the misuse of traditional customs by unscrupulous men to achieve their goals. It concentrates on the coercion of children into marriage by their parents. The fact is that the child who is coerced into marriage is not allowed to voice his/her opinions about a matter which will affect him/her for the rest of his/her life. Traditional authority plays a significant role because the word of the father, as the head of the family, is final. It has been seen from selected IsiXhosa dramas that there were no further negotiations on the matter after the father made his decision. Child marriage is viewed as a form of child abuse because the child's opinions are repressed by traditional authority. In our modern world this is conceived of as the violation of the fundamental rights of children, as enshrined in the current Constitution of this Country and in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. A type of traditional custom, like forced and arranged marriages, that encourages the denial of freedom of choice to children will be labelled as inhuman and abusive, and as degrading treatment which violates human existence itself.

The tradition of forced marriage forbids any person who is considered as a child, but who is actually a full human being in her own right, the freedom of choice and of expression. The drama books reveal that AmaXhosa's socio-cultural tradition does not permit individualism and self-fulfilment. Individualism is viewed as an enemy because it challenges the socio-cultural order. Patriarchal authority is, as one would expect, very conservative in

nature. It normally destroys and represses all those freedoms that promote individual interest above the patriarchal and the communal one. Our dramatists denounce the practice of child marriage which, in some cases as indicated above, has the blessing of some women, especially those mothers who perceive marriage only as a means of social mobility and material enrichment. A child, especially a girl, as Cham (in Jones, 1981:94) puts it is conceived as 'a lamb sacrificed, like many others on the altar of materialism'. Girls in particular become the victims of tradition and of male power, and they become pawns in these destructive adult games that invariably end by negatively affecting the educational and experiential development of the children. In the process the institution of marriage is also distorted and the moral integrity and judgement of individuals who, for the most part, occupy high places in their communities, is compromised.

In **UDike noCikizwa**, Cikizwa is forbidden by her father to marry Dike. Sando cuts off her right to make an informed, independent choice and to make sure that Cikizwa will never marry Dike, Sando physically kills Dike. Sando says to Dike:

Umbi mawutshabalale njadini.

(You ugly you must be killed dog.)

(Mmango 1983:48)

Sando kills Dike because he believes that Dike is misleading his daughter.

Sando uses his daughter as an economic commodity. He instructs her to marry Mjongwa. In traditional societies, for as long as the child still resides with his/her parents, she/he has no say in the running of the family and his/her own life. The main conviction seems to be the belief that when a man spares the rod the child gets spoiled. The beating of children and women seems to be a normal action in a socio-cultural traditional setting such as AmaXhosa

In a traditional setting children do not have the right to query the instructions of their parents. Sando forces Cikizwa who, refusing to marry Mjongwa, is seen as a disrespectful child who is refusing to do the will of her father, not

for an offence she personally committed. There is no concrete offence on the side of the child, except that of disobeying her father's instructions. Sandu as a traditionalist, does not view his disciplinary action in a negative way. This is a normal way of commanding respect from a stubborn child who does not want to observe his authority because he himself grew up like that. Sandu is a traditional man who adheres to his culture. He perceives nothing wrong with the practice of arranged marriages.

5.8 THEME OF PROTEST

The theme of protest in the texts under scrutiny encompasses the rebellious responses of characters against social oppressions. It consists of the negative assertions against the arranged marriages or any form of oppression against women. It specifically focuses on the disapproval of forced marriages by both young men and women. In other words it is anti-authoritarian, and speaks against the unjust coercive actions committed by any adult against a young person who cannot defend himself or herself. It indicates that young people desire to create a society where women can live a full, self-determined life. Women and children defy the life-denying ethos of patriarchy and demand a new and different order founded on freedom and love. The dramatists are expressing angry feelings about injustice and are engaged in raising women's political awareness of their oppression by men. They are discontented with the culture of arranged marriage as they see it occurring in their cultural communities.

Ntuli (1984:133) comments on the writer's role in writing about society's problems:

Throughout the ages writers have been found to express their displeasure about certain condition or practices. There is always an argument as to the degree to which an artist should involve himself with the problems of society.

The question whether an artist should, or should not, intrude into the life of other people in his society is also raised by Egudu (1978:1) who says:

The question whether the literary artist should or should not be concerned in his works with what is happening in his society has through the ages been the issue over which artists and critics have argued and disagreed.

According to the above scholar, protest literature expresses dissatisfaction about the order of things that happen to women and children. Literary artists are part of a particular society and their works automatically mirror what takes place in various communities. Literary works, then, are the means through which many societies come to know the plagues in their communities. It is a primary function of any literary artist to open the eyes of society to the good and the evil that exists amongst its inhabitants.

Daymond as cited by Manyaka (1995:164) highlights that any form of protest is against a distorted order of doing things. Gray attests that:

... Protest at this stage of affairs is not a gesture, but a system of belief, a quiet and tenacious one, which is situated at the point whether the way things are diverged into the way they could be or could have been. An act of memory in a society which has lost an international dynamic of renewal can be allied to an act of provocation.

Protest is seen as a means of returning things that are in disarray to their normal order. It is bound to occur in a society where the order of doing things has become too rigid, or where power is vested in one sector of the society. Any society needs to be dynamic so that it is in line with changing times. Protest in this study is conceived of as a response to the unreasonable adherence to tradition found in patriarchy. A discussion of protest requires an analysis of the status and roles of the people who comprise a family unit. Status and roles are two of the most important aspects of interpersonal relations involved in social organisation. Status can be defined as an individual's position within a family structure (Odetola, 1983:4). For example, in a family unit an individual can hold the position of a grandfather, grandmother, husband, father, mother, daughter or son, some simultaneously.

Every status has a set of behaviour patterns and norms specifying the expected performances of the individual in the variety of positions already listed. As a result of the limited time available to the individual and the many roles he plays, often conflict arises in the performance of these roles.

5.8.1 Protest by children

As evidenced in the dramas, the young people's protest against parental choice of a marriage partner culminated in today's rejection of the customary practice. The traditional heroes and heroines in dramas refused to assert a masculine authority and parental control suffers a serious setback here. Among AmaXhosa and any other African Nation, the vital core of society is the maintenance of families in proper relationship. The exercise of familial virtues, the fulfilment of duties towards elders, wives and children which ensures the smooth working of the family and lineage group as an economic and co-operative unit, is of great importance. In these drama books we come across a number of young women and a young man who protest against an unjustified arranged marriage. Each drama presents a war of values and principles between the old, traditional patriarchal sector and modern youth people.

The arranged marriages disturb the behaviour patterns of the children and the social relations between the parents and their children. The issue of arranged marriage begins to take on the characteristics of a power struggle in which both sides, male as well as female, invoke the indigenous traditions, as well as adopted non-indigenous values to justify their actions. The power struggle, then, is to be seen not so much in terms of victory or defeat, since it is the type of struggle that yields a no-win situation, but is to be looked at from the perspective of the impact of the experience on the individual and of the latter's ability to examine, actualise and utilise the transactive capabilities of such a struggle. The young represented by the new generation, refuse to follow the old and traditional way of doing things. Many of their protest actions exhibit anger and militancy.

In **UDike noCikizwa**, Cikizwa respects the authority of her father but she finds herself in a situation where the arranged marriage forces her to protest against her father's wishes. Her father's killing of Dike leads to her taking

her own life. Cikizwa voices her refusal to marry Mjongwa:

Andizange ndimthande lo mfana.

(I never loved this young man)

(Mmango 1983:71)

Cikizwa tells the congregation why she refuses to marry this young man – because she does not love him. That shows that she never fell in love with Mjongwa. The above extract indicates her anger, despite her father's warnings. Cikizwa has much respect for her father, but she also protests against arranged marriage.

In **Buzani Kubawo** Gugulethu's protest and arrogant behaviour are based on the brutal imposition of marriage by his father. He is impelled to marry Thobeka solely because she is his father's choice. Gugulethu's protest is a reaction to his father's obstinacy and refusal to recognise NomaMpondomise as the woman that he wants to marry. To counteract his father's authority, Gugulethu refuses to be co-operative in the marriage arrangement with Thobeka.

5.8.2 PROTEST BY WOMEN

Masukude in Inene Nasi Isibhozo protests against the presences of Lolo in the running affairs of her house. She wants to drive Lolo away to her house, by persuade Vuma to get married. This protest becomes clear in her conversation with her son Vuma.

Mntwanam, ndikhathazwaaa nguyihlomncinci. Okoko kwathi Kwabhubha uyihlo, lo mzi uLolo uwenz' owakhe. Makaphume aphele kulo mzi, uLolo noMaDlamini wakhe abananto ilapha.

(My child I have be worried by your father's young brother. From the death of your father, Lolo tookover the household, as if it belong to him. Lolo and his wife MaDlamini must get out, they do not have anything that belong to them here.

Mtingane, (1992: 12)

Masukude shows a concerns about the presence of Lolo to the affairs of her house. She wants to push Lolo away to her house by getting her son a wife.

Masude takes the most severely plan if protest against the marriage of Themba her step son. She is advices by her friend Noayini to kill Themba who is becoming obstacle to Masukude's plan. *Nawe ke susa ilitye*

endleleni. (You must remove the stone from the way). Masukude takes this support from Noayini to use the poison to kill Themba with the idea of if Themba dies the marriage will stop. UNoayini comes with the strategies:

Kahle, kaloku akufuneki sihleli sihamba kunye. Thatha le Mpahla ibe ngakuwe.

(Wait we are not suppose to be always walking together. Take this parcel to you.)

Mtingane (1992: 44)

Masukude is already opted to take the solution of killing Themba. This is the results of protest from the women who seems defenceless from the power of men. This protest of women lead to the death of people.

As evidenced in UDike noCikizwa where Nomatiletile protest against her brother's choice of arranged marriage for her daughter. She utters very strong words to her brother.

Umenza ikhoboka xa angamvumeli ukuba acinge, azi aqiqe, aqonde njengokuba esitsho.

(You make her a slave when you not allows her to think, crawl on her own understand as she says.)

Mmango, (1983: 6)

Nomatiletile complains to her brother by not allowing his child to make her own decision about life. She even blames him for not giving her the opportunity to develop herself.

Nomatiletile further protests to her brother by using strong word about the arranged marriage of Cikizwa.

Kanti ke ikwayinyaniso ukuba wakunika umntwana ukudla kuze kungalungi esiswini sakhe uya kukuhlanza.

(But it is true that if you give the child food and does not fit to her stomach she will vomit)

In the above statement Nomatiletile tells her brother that if he forces the child to marry a man she does not love. It is possible that the child could not take the action.

THIRST FOR FREEDOM

5.9

The theme of protest discussed above indicates clearly the dissatisfaction of the youth, particularly women, with patriarchal control which imposes strict measures on the choice of a marriage partner. Young people themselves are

in conflict with their parents who want to confine their behaviour within fixed behavioural parameters. The theme of freedom therefore touches on this socio-cultural conflict. The young perceive life differently from the old generation. It has been demonstrated that the young people and women characters in the selected IsiXhosa texts yearn for freedom of choice. They want to do things their own way and this puts them at loggerheads with their parents who want to maintain the old order. The young people confirm the idea that individuals cannot be free if there are obstacles placed on the way of the realisation of their freedom.

Kelleher (1964:17) gives two definitions of freedom. He refers to the first definition as an old one, which explains freedom as “an absence of restraint”. This definition draws attention to the fact that the concept of freedom cannot exist except in relation to power. On the other hand restraint itself is inconceivable without the power to restrain. This perfectly describes the situation between the youth and their parents. Culturally, parents have the power to place certain restraining orders on their children. This power should not be viewed negatively. Parents do this because they think that their youth cannot choose between right and wrong. Parents’ restraining orders, in most instances, are intended positively. The concept of freedom as absence of restraint is not real because these days it only exists as an idea. Even as an idea it is still linked to power.

The youth’s yearning for freedom is purposive, aimed at breaking the shackles of parental control. It indicates that they want the power to do what they desire and that this power is freedom.

Kelleher (1964:19) explains freedom in his second definition as the:

“power in man to do what he likes so
far as his powers can reach”.

This definition stresses that freedom has limitations. It is limited to the point where one’s power can reach, and not beyond. Complete freedom does not exist, therefore, no person can have complete freedom. Although freedom is a fundamental fact of human existence it can only be applied to a certain degree.

This theme focuses more emphatically on the particular dilemma of women, as well as youth, in a rapidly changing social society. Westernisation, with its emphasis on the freedom of the individual, presents a clear obstacle for African culture. The changes that Westernisation effects are accompanied by conflict between the new ideals and the old allegiance. Maybe we should ask ourselves what happens when two generations overlap one another, with neither one prepared for a compromise? How can freedom and authority be brought into harmony? The answer to these questions lies in the fact that society should grant all its members the opportunity to make individual choices about their lives. Society must provide for a person's exercise of freedom. In order to be truly free a person must have the power to form independent judgements.

Given the historically established and socio-cultural sanctioned sexism of AmaXhosa society, there is no possibility of a compromise, or even truce, between modern youth and patriarchy. The selected IsiXhosa texts explore the difficulties of the transition from the old and traditional to the new and modern way of life, and they seem to suggest a solution to the difficulties encountered during the period of transition. The writers, it would appear, are therefore suggesting a meaningful compromise between the traditional customs and the modern values with their demand for the freedom of the individual.

The militancy of the youth in these dramatic works arises from the institutionalised sexism of contemporary socio-African life. The dramatists convey the observation that if a person's feelings are the basic experience, then freedom is the fundamental fact of human existence. In **Buzani Kubawo** the bone of contention between Gugulethu and Zwi lakhe is precisely this freedom of choice. Zwi lakhe prohibits his son, Gugulethu, from marrying NomaMpondomise. It is not only Gugulethu who realises that his sense of freedom is curbed on purpose. His uncles, the brothers of his father, warn Zwi lakhe against the dangers – in that his actions are old fashioned and therefore they will fail.

Ewe uyavakala mfo kabawo kuko konke okuthethayo, kodwa ke noko mawethu bendisenza nje isicelo sokuba makayekwe umfana azeke intombi ethandwe nguye, neya kuthi angwabane nayo. Into yesiko andiyiphikisi, ndingayimeli nangaphambili. Kodwa ke kukho into emaze niyiqaphela xa nisenza zonke izinto. Ixesha.

(I listen my brother is all what you say. But fellow brothers I am making a request to give to the young man a choice of marry, the girl he wish to marry, that one that they will bury each other. I am not denying the custom, and even not standing in front of it. But the thing that you should notice when you do everything. Time.)

(Tamsanqa 1987:33)

Zweni tells his family males including Zwilakhe that Gugulethu must be given the freedom to choose the girl he wishes to marry. His statement, however, contains traces of Western influence.

In **UDike noCikizwa**, Cikizwa also longs for freedom of choice. She disagrees with her father in being forced to marry Mjongwa. Let us capture her telling the preacher about the power of love:

Uthando lusingiseko solonwabo ke ukuba uthando alukho nolonwabo alukho.

(Love is the foundation of happiness, if love is not there, happiness is not there.)

(Mmango 1983:70)

The above passage expresses a fundamental truth about human life. Nobody can successfully win someone's heart for another person. Not even Sando can succeed in his effort. Cikizwa perceives this as the only gift that has been given to each individual. She stresses the fact that love is the basis of happiness. It is clear from her statement that love is not transferable. When any person interferes in the love affairs of other people, conflict is bound to occur because each person lives by feelings that are unique.

5.10 CONCLUSION

It is evident from the selected IsiXhosa texts that the issue of arranged marriages impinges on the freedom of the individual, especially the one who is forced to enter into such a marriage. The theme of freedom attempts to reconcile the socio-cultural conflict between the individual and authority in a more positive, less contradictory way. It persuades those who still cling to power that freedom can only be applied up to certain limits. The writers attempt to harmonise the opposite demands of the individual and traditional forms of authority. Conflict is bound to occur because it becomes apparent that one person's liberty is another person's restraint. There is a socio-cultural conflict between the demands of youth's emotional drives and the dictates of their reason. This means that if children are given more liberty to make their own decisions concerning their marital partners, a number of restraints such as not having a say in the household or decision-making about things that affect their families are then placed on patriarchy. In order to understand the idea of freedom one has to take into account several interrelated ideas: the primacy of the feelings in the life of the individual, the isolation of the individual, the significance of an individual's creative imagination, the socio-cultural conflict between the individual and authority, the processes of change in life, and the idea of democracy which encourages the idea that a person is a free creative spirit.

In conclusion these drama books are stories about how individuals treat one another in a family unit and how communities react to changing conditions. Some themes are those of gender equality and power struggles, others indicate the dilemmas of modernisation. The drama books divide themselves readily into the particular stages of women's lives: they deal with how female children become women; what marriage means for women; where women's work fits into their lives. A life cycle approach to gender role questions emerges from the stories and is employed to organise the situation. Some themes have shown that "all women" cannot be grouped into a single category. One must look at each woman's or group of womans' place in the life cycle and social structure.

CHAPTER 6

GENERAL EVALUATION

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to present conclusions about the socio-cultural conflict in African Societies, particularly AmaXhosa.

Literary examples have been given from selected IsiXhosa texts. This chapter commences by discussing the forms of AmaXhosa arranged marriages. This section also indicates parental control of the whole marriage process and shows that arranged marriages are a cultural traditional practice.

Although in present days there is more self-selection of spouses than in the past, even today a marriage arrangement cannot be sealed without the involvement of the parents, who still play a significant role in the whole process. Stichter and Hay (1995:82) concur that: "... even in situations where women and men meet on their own, the consent of parents and other kin is usually required." They further argue that sometimes intermediaries are sought to find suitable spouses and inquire into the family's reputation. Mbiti (1969:136) gives a broader explanation of parental involvement:

A fairly widespread practice is the one in which the parents and relatives of a young man approach the parents of a particular girl and start marriage negotiations. If either the boy or young man very strongly rejects the prospective marriage partner, then the negotiations are broken down; although there are cases where force or pressure is applied to get the reluctant young person to marry the partner chosen by parents and relatives.

The literary works discussed in preceding chapters have indicated that in practice, parents as people in authority, did not break down the negotiations when children refused to succumb into marrying the marriage partner their

parents had chosen for them. As a result young men and women were forced into marriages. It is also true that sometimes both patterns co-exist, where an earlier courtship by the young man himself is followed by an arranged marriage. Today young men and women are free to choose their own spouses. The normal procedure in most societies is that young people themselves make their own choices and afterwards inform their parents about it. AmaXhosa live a communal way of life. Members of the communal and stratified society of AmaXhosa tends to be regarded not as individuals but as members of a series of collectives such as family, clan and tribe. It is therefore important that since the individual exists only because the corporate group exists, other members of that corporate community become involved in the marriage of the individual. Then the parents and relatives begin the betrothal and marriage negotiations. It has been observed that in forced and arranged marriages the normal pattern is reversed. It is the parents and the relatives who initiate and sometimes even complete the whole process of marriage arrangement without the involvement of the envisaged spouses.

The controversy around the rejection of the marriage partner chosen by the parents has created a rift among some African literary researchers and those African writers who wrote about the themes under discussion. Literature that studies the clash of cultures is viewed as a case of Western influence, where the African writer is seen as having been influenced by the West. For example, Makhambeni (1988:30), who also wonders whether it is right to blame every change in society on Westernisation, says:

On the other hand, it is difficult to ignore this influence and the changes occurring in the African societies. The writers have been greatly influenced by Western culture. This is shown by the stories they produced, which are obviously against traditional practices. Most stories advocate the abolition of a practice which has been previously accepted without any criticism.

The above phrases indicates that writers who have written literature about a clash of cultures were, in fact, conforming to the historical changes of the times. These views argue that writers wanted to show their acceptance of

Western culture by writing literature that despised their own traditional cultures. We would like to view these suggestions as only partly true because, if they are totally authentic, it would mean that African tradition was then extremely oppressive. It would also indicate that African people would not have changed their traditional oppressive ways of doing things if it had not been for Western influence. We would like to believe that even in those days there were men and women who were not staunch traditionalists. Even in traditional times there were people who were not in favour of forced marriages or any culture that undermined the personal choices of the individuals. We acknowledge the fact that the emergence of voluminous literature that indicates the clash of cultures, or the eradication of certain traditional practices, raised many questions. The emergency of literature of this nature could be ascribed to the breaking of silence about certain socio-cultural issues and customs that were previously accepted without any criticism.

Miller's statement is relevant in this regard when he points out that:

The dictionary "say"; the author "talks" about a subject; books are written to break "silence". When a text's meaning is revealed, we insist even more on metaphors or orality, as if communication itself were intrinsically oral and aural: a text that moves me "speaks to me". (1990:247).

There are various ways in which one can analyse the above statement. Authors write about any subject of their choice. It is only after reading the contents of the subject that the reader is able to attach meaning to what he has read. Readers, therefore, react differently to textual material.

A text that speaks to the reader will evoke a response of some kind from him. The metaphorical meaning obtained from the literature that treats the themes of forced and arranged marriages is perceived from a socio-cultural conflict in this research.

This research deals with socio-cultural conflict; but focus is primarily on AmaXhosa social inequalities with special emphasis on the generation gap. It is particularly centred around the three selected IsiXhosa texts, and analyses how social inequalities were perpetuated by the themes of forced marriages.

This study has taken the view that reading with “socio-cultural conflict” is a vital part of the study of literature and cultural representations. This type of reading encourages the reader to see aspects of texts and the contexts of their creation and reception which we might not otherwise notice. It has enabled one to analyse the gender dynamics gleaned from the study of texts in a particular context. The evaluation of the themes of forced marriages has indicated that today we may find value in some stories about AmaXhosa socio-cultural values. An analysis of these themes further recommends that each generation should re-evaluate its position in relation to history and the ideas of the previous generations.

One literary theory which is employed in the analysis of these dramatic works is psychoanalysis, which is discussed in Chapter two, as well as other supplementary theories. This eclectic analytical framework has indicated that reading and studying literature today is a very rich and multi-layered enterprise.

The use of social psychology and psychoanalysis in this study indicated that the research of literature is a process with a connection to us, as readers and people. The classification of names by Suzman (Cf: ...) indicated that names have a referential value. This means that names point outward from the individual toward various social or cultural circumstances. They can point to people that are important in the child's life, the circumstances surrounding the birth of the child, the special position of the family and institutions relevant to the namer's state of mind. Hence, names such as Zwilakhe, Gugulethu, Thobeka, in **Buzani Kubawo** (1987), and Vuma, in **Inene Nasi Isbhozo** (1992), were classified as predictive names which predict the personalities of these persons. It has been shown that some names of female

characters indicate physical structure i.e. a name such as Cikizwa in **UDike NoCikizwa** (1983).

Psychoanalysis offered a tool for the analysis of the behaviour of the characters. Like people, characters are placed in particular cultures, in particular places and periods, with prejudices and desires of their own. Carl Jung's theory of personality which touches on the ego, the unconscious and the collective unconscious was discussed (Cf: ...) The structural psychoanalysis of Jacques Lacan is also taken into consideration (Cf: ...). Lacan's theory rests on the assumption that the unconscious is structured like a language. His view is that the text itself is a linguistic structure with its own psyche. The psyche of the text, or rather the psyche of the characters in the text, is taken to be related to the psyche of the people that are represented by the characters in the text. Psychoanalysis, therefore, has helped to evaluate and analyse the behaviour of the characters in the selected texts.

Chapter four outlines social conflict, cultural barriers and inequality between the sexes by analysing the role played by male and female characters in AmaXhosa society. This study is mainly concerned with the social inequalities which lead to a series of tragedies in AmaXhosa society. The use of literary theory in the selected texts is aimed at seeking to understand the literary representation of gender conflict, the historical evidence of the social inequality within these literary texts, and how the writers consciously or unconsciously transpose that evidence into their texts. [Literature can be defined as the many forms of cultural representation in which social inequality relations are routinely depicted.] So, it has been indicated that gender can be read in sexual stereotypes and in power relations between the characters. In Inene Nasi Isibhozo and **UDike NoCikizwa** women are depicted as nonentities, for instance, the subordinate housewife. In these two books women play minor roles. These texts reveal the marginal position of women in AmaXhosa community, by allocating female characters roles that bind them to the home and children.

Masukude, in Inene Nasi Isibhozo, present us with women of a different calibre. Although this writer also portrays some popular female stereotypes he does not portray the female as accepting her lot. He presents us with a

life-like character who does not conceal her true self in order to conform to the norms of society. This portrays women as strong people who are courageous enough to challenge the laws of patriarchy. Masukude in this drama defies the oppressive cultural norms by putting her personal interests above those of cultural society. Cikizwa in **UDike NoCikizwa** (1983) is not as passive as Thobeka in **Buzani Kubawo** (1987). She engages in rebellious actions to fight the unjust laws of patriarchy that prevent women from marrying the men they love. Cikizwa violates the cultural norms in a way that was never previously imagined in the history of AmaXhosa. She refuses to accept Mjongwa as her husband on the wedding day.

Cikizwa is not the only young woman who protests against forced marriage, but that some old women like Nomatiletile also discouraged this custom. She rejected the culture of forced marriage. She supported Cikizwa in her struggle to free herself from the oppressive custom of forced marriage. Cikizwa in **UDike NoCikizwa** and uNomaMphondomise in **Buzani Kubawo** both valued female emancipation above that of cultural submission which oppresses the women. Masukude in **Inene Nasi Isibhozo**, is presented as a very domineering woman who resists her family-in-laws to control the affairs of her own house. She stood firm against these laws and challenged Lolo and his brothers. Cikizwa in **UDike NoCikizwa**, uMasukude in **Inene Nasi Isibhozo**, uGugulethu and NomaMphondomise in **Buzani Kubawo** made a contribution to the culture of non-conformity.

The socio-cultural barriers discussed reveal men's attitude towards women. The woman as a nurturer, a rose, flower, the wicked witch, and the wise hag are all the stuff of the romantic and fairytale stereotypes that until recently were among the main female models we came across in literature. Literary texts can both reinforce gender stereotypes and create newer, more liberating presentations of gender. Literature should instil a positive sense of feminine identity by portraying women who are self-actualising, and whose identities do not depend on men.

Attention is also drawn to the relationship that exists between the names of characters and socio-cultural influences. Besides being a cultural practice it has been discovered that writers use names with a different purpose. Names

of characters determine the sexual roles of men and women. Names, in other words, give power to their bearers. Zwilakhe, for example, does not want to listen to anybody who opposes him. His name refers to a self-centred person who only wants to do what suits him best. Zwilakhe is a conservative man and this is supported by his stubbornness and the aggressive way in which he forces Gugulethu to marry Thobeka.

Psychoanalysis was applied to the various actions exhibited by the characters that are affected by the custom of arranged marriages. It revealed the effects of these terrifying repressions by analysing the deviant behaviours of the characters. Most of the characters who find themselves in an arranged marriage situation rebelled against the oppressive instructions of their parents. Although Cikizwa did not show rebelliousness in a violent manner, the act of failing in the arranged marriage with Mjongwa, whom her father loved so much, demonstrated defiance of her father's wish. Masukude represents the epitome of rebelliousness. She is a true rebellious heroine. Psychoanalysis suggests that there is a link between a specific behaviour of a character and his or her environment. These characters had to suppress love for their chosen lovers, to fulfil the wishes of their parents. Conflict, then, is bound to occur between the id, which drives the characters to fight for the realisation of their desires, and the super-ego which represents the parental restrictions. Gugulethu deserted his home to go to Umtata and NomaMphondomise humiliated her family by driving out all the *lobola* cattle from her father's kraal. She even commits suicide.

Chapter four demonstrates that the conflict of forced, arranged marriage was a popular practice by AmaXhosa, and gives examples of incidents that culminated in tragedy. This chapter also discusses cultural stereotypes which contributed to these socio-cultural conflicts.

The themes of forced marriages are discussed in Chapter five. This section exposes various issues exhibited by the theme of forced and arranged marriage. Among these themes we discovered the following ideas: forced marriage does not prosper; arranged marriage yields catastrophic results; themes of oppression; submissiveness; protest and freedom. This chapter indicates that when we study literature and gender, we do not simply mean

literary analysis of texts with regard to the sex or sexuality of characters, but the wider study of literary texts as they are written, read and interpreted within cultures by men and women.

6.3 CONCLUSION

This dissertation makes an in-depth study of the socio-cultural conflict of AmaXhosa, with special emphasis on children and women. It particularly centres around three selected IsiXhosa texts and makes a critical analysis on social inequalities which are perpetuated by culture. The uses of psychoanalysis is focused on the personal behaviour of the characters. The theory of Womanism is used to expose all the malpractices committed by culture against women. The analysis of themes leads to recommendations that each generation should re-evaluate its role in relation to history and the ideas of the previous generations.

Chapter One lays out the aim of this study, which exposes the socio-cultural conflict caused by culture. A literature review indicates the studies that have been carried out on socio-cultural conflict which caused a series of tragedies in AmaXhosa Society. The scope of this research, as well as an explanation of the key concepts, are dealt with in this preliminary chapter.

The psychoanalysis theory with the supplementary of Womanism, Onomastics and Social Psychology are employed in the analysis of three selected IsiXhosa texts, which are discussed in Chapter Two. By exploring Womanism we find that gender is an important area of research, since women always experience the painful cultural practices of their society. The employment of the Onomastics theory puts more emphasis on the naming of characters and how these names influence the behaviour of the characters in return.

Chapter Three gives the historical background of cultural practices of AmaXhosa and the role played by males in AmaXhosa Society. It is in Chapter Three that the naming of the child and the bride are indicated. The status of women and children in AmaXhosa society are discussed. Chapter Four demonstrates the socio-culture of arranged marriages. It indicates that this custom was popular amongst the AmaXhosa and AmaZulu. Chapter Five discusses the themes of forced marriages by exposing other secondary themes

inherent in them. This section exposes different issues exhibited by the themes of forced and arranged marriages. Among other themes we find the following ideas: forced marriage does not succeed; resulted in tragedy; theme of oppression; submissiveness; child marriage; protest and freedom.

These socio-cultural differences experienced by men and women result in a series of tragedies in AmaXhosa society. Women are abused by menfolk, by using cultural practices as an excuse for these ill-practices.

However, one should not put too much blame on parents who arrange marriages for their children. They follow a common wish that all parents have, which is to see their children married to ideal spouses. The culture of forced marriage became a traditional practice which was impossible to question in the olden days. The cultural set up which prevailed in those years was that men believed in filling their kraals with *ikhazi (ikhazi lentombi)*. Some of the children did not accept these arranged marriages and they rebelled, and this resulted in tragedies. Sometimes children accepted the legitimacy of arranged marriages because they respected their parents' decisions. Some children trust their parents as guardians who look after their interest.

There are, however, some good reasons behind the choice of marriage partners by parents. The main reason cited in support of this culture is that the parents who initiate the arranged marriage have the future well-being of their children at heart.

The number of sad stories referred to in these chapters though, highlight the pain felt by children who experienced the arranged marriages. The importance of true love as a solid base for a happy and successful marriage in contrast with the extremely unwanted results of arranged marriage is highlighted in chapters four and five. There is enough evidence to show that sometimes children agree to unwanted arranged marriages because of family pressure. This also results when people try to come up with new ideas to a tradition that has been practised for centuries. Such an effort amounts to a revolution. The youth that were forced into arranged marriages rebel against this longstanding tradition. Their rebelliousness represents the difference in opinion between them and the

traditional parents. A number of cases have indicated that Western or Christian influences played a major role in changing these traditional practices.

The traditional African child has been affected by the consequences of these cultural traditional practices. The rejection of the chosen partner affected the father's dignity because his word was no longer regarded as law in the home. Traditional African culture did not allow children or youth to take part in the decision making of the family. The above statement reveals that African parents are sometimes abusing their culture to achieve their ulterior motives. The views of the child they are forcing into an arranged marriage are regarded as insignificant.

This is still true even in present days because parents do not want to accept the youth's views in their families matters. There are a number of children who have left their homes because their parents interfered in their relationships. The youth were robbed of their human rights to make their own decisions, especially in important matters such as marriage. The inequality that prevails in a family unit between a married woman and family males is partly the result of cultural traditional practices.

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